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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κλῆμα ἐς αἰ. Thucyd.

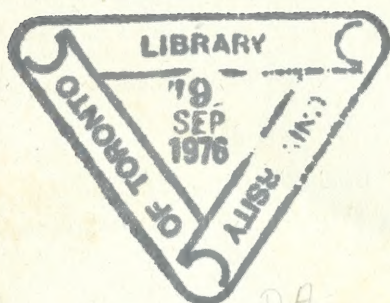
Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. VII.

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THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
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IN these Straits, the King considered two Expedients which were proposed to him, and which his Majesty directed should be both consulted in the Council. The one was, "that all the Peers who were then in *Oxford*, or in the King's Service, might subscribe a Letter to the Council of State in *Scotland*; whereby it would appear, by the subscription, that above five parts of six of the whole Nobility, and House of Peers, were in the King's Service, and disavowed all those Actions which were done against him, by the pretended Authority of the two Houses; which possibly might make some impression upon the Nation of *Scotland*, though it was well enough known before to their Seducers." A Letter was prepared accordingly, expressing "the foulness of the Rebellion in *England*, under the reputation of the Houses of Parliament, and the carrying on the same, when they had driven away, by force, much the Major part of the Members of both Houses, and expressly against all the Laws of the Land:" it put them in mind "of their obligation to the King," and pathetically concluded "with conjuring them to desist from their

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A Letter from the Peers on the King's side to the Council in Scotland.

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“ unjust, and unwarrantable purpose; since they
“ could have no excuse for prosecuting the same,
“ from the Authority of Parliament.” The Letter
was perused, and debated in the Council, and after-
wards in the presence of all the Peers; and being
generally approved, without any dissenting Voice,
it was ordered to be engrossed, and signed by all those
Peers, and Privy - Counsellors, who were then in
Oxford, and to be sent to those who were absent in
any of the Armies, or in the King’s Quarters, and to
be then sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*; who, after
he had signed it, with those Peers who were in those
parts, was to transmit it into *Scotland* by a Trumpet;
all which was done accordingly.

Of all the Peers who followed the King, there was
only one who refused to sign this Letter, the Earl of
Leicester; who, after many pauses and delays, whether
he had not yet digested his late deposal from the
Lieutenancy of *Ireland*, to which the Marquis of
Ormond was deputed, and thought the disobligation
of it not capable of a reparation, or whether he
thought the King’s Fortune desperate, and resolved
not to sacrifice himself to any popular displeasure, and
not to provoke the Parliament farther than by not
concurring with them; or whether he had it then in
his purpose to be found in their Quarters, as shortly
after he was, did in the end positively refuse to sub-
scribe the Letter; and thereby was the occasion of a
mischief he did not intend. For both their Majesties,
in their secret purpose, had designed him to succeed
the Marquis of *Hertford* in the Government of the
Prince; for which he would have been very proper;

but upon this so affected a discovery of a nature, and mind, liable to no kind of compliance, the King could not prosecute his purpose; and so the Government of that hopeful and excellent Prince, was committed to the Earl of *Berkshire*, for no other reason but because he had a mind to it, and his importunity was very troublesome: a Man of any who bore the Name of a Gentleman, the most unfit for That Province, or any other that required any proportion of Wisdom and Understanding for the discharge of it.

But it was the unhappy distemper of the Court at that time, to think that it was no matter Who was employed in that Office; for the King nor Queen were not at all deceived, nor was the Earl less fit than they thought him to be; but they thought his want of parts (his Fidelity there was no cause to suspect) to be of little importance: and a Counsellor, much trusted, speaking at that time with the Lord *Jermyn*, “how astonishing a thing it was to all the Nation, to see the Prince committed to such a Governor,” he smiled, according to his custom, when he could not answer; and said, “it was of no moment, Who had the name and style of Governor, since the King and Queen meant to be his Governor, and firmly resolved that he should never be out of Their presence, or one of them:” when, within a little more than a year after, the King found it necessary to sever the Prince from himself, and lived not to see him again: and his Majesty then found, and lamented, that he had deputed such a Governor over him.

The other expedient proposed, was, “that since the whole Kingdom was misled by the reverence

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“ they had to Parliaments, and believed that the
“ Laws and Liberties of the People, could not be
“ otherwise preserved, than by their sole Authority,
“ and that it appeared to be to no purpose to persuade
“ Men that what they did was against Law, when
“ they were persuaded that their very doing it made
“ it Lawful, it would be therefore necessary, and
“ could be only effectual, to convince them, that
“ they who did those monstrous things, were not
“ the Parliament, but a handful of desperate Persons,
“ who, by the help of the Tumults raised in the City
“ of *London*, had driven away the Major part of the
“ Parliament, and called themselves the Parliament,
“ whilst they were, in truth, much the less, and the
“ least considerable part of it; which would appear
“ manifestly, if the King would issue out a Proclama-
“ tion, to require all the Members who had left the
“ Parliament at *Westminster*, to repair to *Oxford*, by
“ such a day; where his Majesty would be willing to
“ advise with them in matters of the greatest import-
“ ance, concerning the Peace, and Distractions of
“ the Kingdom: by this means, he might, in many
“ things, serve himself by their Assistance, and it
“ would evidently appear by the number of both
“ Houses, whose names would be quickly known,
“ and published, how few remained at *Westminster*,
“ who carried on the devouring War, so grievous
“ to the whole Kingdom.

The King was at first in some apprehension, that
such a conflux of Persons together of the Parliament,
who would look to enjoy the Privileges of it in their
Debates, might, instead of doing him Service, do

many things contrary to it, and exceedingly apprehended, that they would immediately enter upon some Treaty of Peace, which would have no effect; yet, whilst it was in suspense, would hinder his preparation for the War; and though no body more desired Peace, yet he had no mind, that a Multitude should be consulted upon the conditions of it: imagining, that things of the greatest importance, as the giving up Persons, and other particulars of Honor, would not seem to them of moment enough to continue a War in the Kingdom; which would have been true, if, as hath been said before, the Governors of the Parliament had not themselves been too fearful of a Peace, to trust any to make politic Propositions, which, upon refusal, might have done good, but being consented to had undone them, and frustrated all their designs.

The Council seemed much inclined to the Expedient, and many conveniences were in View; and it might be reasonably hoped, and presumed “that Persons, who had that Duty to obey his Majesty’s
“ Summons, in coming thither, which would be none
“ but such as had already absented themselves from
“ *Westminster*, and thereby incensed those who remained there, would not bring ill and troublesome
“ humors with them, to disturb that Service which
“ could only preserve them: but on the contrary,
“ would unite, and conspire together, to make the
“ King Superior to His and Their Enemies. And as
“ to the advancing any Propositions of Peace, which
“ there could be no doubt but they would be inclined
“ to, nor would it be fit for his Majesty to oppose, there

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“ could be no inconvenience; since their appearing
 “ in it would but draw reproach from those at *West-*
 “ *minster*, who would never give them any Answer,
 “ or look upon them under any Notion, but as pri-
 “ vate Persons, and Deserters of the Parliament,
 “ without any Qualification to Treat, or to be Treat-
 “ ed with: which would more provoke those at *Ox-*
 “ *ford*, and, by degrees, stir up more Animosities
 “ between them ” The King discovered more of hope
 than fear from such a Convention; and so, with a very
 unanimous Consent and Approbation, a Proclamation
 was issued out, containing the true grounds and mo-
 tives, and mentioning the League of *Scotland* to
 Invade the Kingdom; which was the most universally
 odious, and detestable; and Summoned all the Mem-
 bers of both Houses of Parliament, except only such,
 as having Command in his Majesty's Armies in the
 North, and in the West, could not be dispensed with,
 to be absent from their Charges, to attend upon his
 Majesty in *Oxford*, upon a day fixed in *January* next.

The King was not all this while without a due sense
 of the dangers that threatened him in the growth,
 and improvement of the power and strength of the
 Enemy, and how impossible it would be for him,
 without some more extraordinary Assistance, to resist
 that Torrent, which, he foresaw, by the next Spring,
 would be ready to overwhelm him, if he made not
 provision accordingly. And finding, by degrees, that
 it was not in his power to compose the disturbances
 of *England*, or to prevent those of *Scotland*, and abhor-
 ring the thought of introducing a Foreign Nation to
 Subdue his own Subjects, he began to think of Expe-

The King's
 Proclamation
 for Assembling
 the Members
 of Parliament
 at Oxford.

dients which might allay the distempers in *Ireland*; that so, having one of his Kingdoms in Peace, he might apply the Power of that, towards the procuring it in his other Dominions. He was not ignorant, how tender an Argument that business of *Ireland* was, and how prepared Men were to pervert whatsoever he said, or did in it; and therefore he resolved to proceed with that Caution, that whatsoever was done in it, should be by the Counsel of that State, who were understood to be most skilful in those Affairs.

The Lords Justices, and Council, had sent a short Petition to his Majesty, which was presented to them, in the name of his Catholic Subjects, then in Arms against him; by which they only desired, with full expressions of Duty, and Submission to his Majesty, "that he would appoint some Persons to hear what they could say for themselves; and to present the same to his Majesty." Hereupon the King Authorized by his Commission the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, and some others, to receive what they were ready to offer, but without the least Authority to conclude any thing with them upon it. And after the receipt of this Commission, the Marquis, finding that this Petition was prosecuted with less ingenuity than it seemed to have been presented, was so far from being indulgent to them under that Notion, that he even then advanced against them with his Army, and gave them a very signal Defeat; which reformed their Application, and made it more submissive.

In the mean time (though in all Actions and Counsels the Lords Justices, and Council there, had yielded punctual obedience to all directions from the Parlia-

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ment) the Affairs of that Kingdom suffered exceedingly for want of Provisions, Money, and Ammunition, out of *England*; which the two Houses of Parliament were obliged, and were, to that purpose, enabled by his Majesty to send. Infomuch as that Board, by their Letters of the fourth of *April*, this present year, advertised the Speaker of the House of Commons, “that they had been compelled, for the
 “ preservation of the Army, to take Money from all
 “ who had it, and to wrest their Commodities from
 “ the poor Merchants, whom they had now, by the
 “ Law of necessity, utterly undone, and disabled
 “ from being hereafter helpful to them, in bringing
 “ them in Victuals, or other needful Commodities:
 “ And that there were few of themselves, or others,
 “ that had not felt their parts in the inforced rigor of
 “ their proceedings, so as, what with such hard dealing, no less grievous to Them to do, than it was
 “ heavy to Others to suffer, and by their descending,
 “ against their hearts, far below the Honor and
 “ Dignity of that Power they represented under his
 “ Royal Majesty, they had, with unspeakable difficulties, prevailed so as to be able to find Bread for
 “ the Soldiers for the space of one Month: That they
 “ were then expelling thence all Strangers, and must
 “ instantly send away for *England*, thousands of poor
 “ despoiled *English*, whose very eating was now insupportable to that place, and therefore, they said,
 “ they did again earnestly, and finally desire (for
 “ their Confusions would not now admit the writing
 “ of many more Letters, if any) some Supplies of
 “ Victual and Munition might, in present, be haf-

“ tened thither to keep Life, until the rest might
“ follow; there being no Victuals in store; nor one
“ hundred Barrels of Powder; which according to
“ the usual necessary Expenses, besides extraordinary
“ Accidents, would not last above a Month.”

A Copy of this Letter they likewise sent to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, that his Majesty might be informed of the sadnes of their Condition, and, with it, a Copy of a paper that Morning presented to the Board (which was likewise sent in their Letter to the Speaker) from the Officers of the Army; who, after sharp expressions of the miseries they sustained, and expostulations thereupon, concluded, “ that if their
“ Lordships would take them into their timely con-
“ siderations, before their urgent wants made them
“ desperate, they would serve them readily and faith-
“ fully; but if their Lordships would not find a way
“ for their preservation there, they humbly desired
“ they might have leave to go where they might have
“ a better being; and if they refused to grant That,
“ they themselves must then take leave to have re-
“ course to that first and primary Law, which God
“ had endued all Men with, the Law of Nature,
“ which taught all Men to preserve themselves.

The King was exceedingly perplexed at the receipt of this Advertisement; apprehending the State of his Protestant Subjects in that Kingdom to be almost desperate, the Rebels receiving daily encouragement and assistance from Foreign parts; and thereupon growing strong and bold; yet he forbore to interpose his own Sovereign-Power, hoping this last clear representation would have made so deep an impression

B O O K in the two Houses of Parliament, that they would
VII. have sent such a full Supply, that at least the Rebels might make no farther Progress in Victory, against his Protestant Subjects. About the end of *May*, the Lords-Justices and Council, having received no probable hope of Assistance from the Parliament, sent an Address immediately to his Majesty, that Himself might conclude, in that exigent, what was to be done for preservation of one of his three Kingdoms. This Letter. Subscribed by the Lords-Justices, and every Member of the Council-Board. being the ground and foundation of the Resolutions which his Majesty afterwards took, I think necessary to insert in the terms of which it consisted; which were these:

May it please your most excellent Majesty.

An Address
 of the Lords-
 Justices and
 the Council in
 Ireland to the
 King.

“ As soon as We your Majesty’s Justices entered
 “ into the Charge of this Government, We took into
 “ our consideration, at the Board, the State of your
 “ Army here; which We find suffering under unspeak-
 “ able Extremity of want of all things necessary to
 “ the Support of their Persons, or Maintenance of
 “ the War, here being no Victuals, Clothes, or other
 “ Provisions requisite towards their Sustenance; no
 “ Money to provide them of any thing they want;
 “ no Arms in your Majesty’s Stores to supply their
 “ many defective Arms; not above forty Barrels of
 “ Powder in your Stores; no strength of serviceable
 “ Horses being now left here; and those few that are,
 “ their Arms for the most part lost, or unserviceable;
 “ no Ships arrived here to guard the Coast, and con-
 “ sequently no security rendered to any that might,

“ on their private Adventures, bring in Provisions of
 “ Victuals, or other necessaries towards our Subsist-
 “ ence; and finally, no visible means, by Sea or Land,
 “ of being able to preserve for you this Kingdom, and
 “ to render deliverance from utter destruction to the
 “ remnant of your good Subjects yet left here.”

“ We find, that your Majesty’s late Justices, and
 “ this Board, have often, and fully, by very many
 “ Letters, advertised the Parliament in *England* of
 “ the extremities of Affairs here, and besought Relief
 “ with all possible importunity; which also have
 “ been fully represented to your Majesty, and to the
 “ Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, to
 “ be made known to your Majesty: And although
 “ the winds have of late for many days, and often
 “ formerly, stood very fair for accessions of Supply
 “ forth of *England* hither, and that We have still,
 “ with longing Expectations, hoped to find Provi-
 “ sions arrive here, in some degree Answerable to the
 “ necessities of your Affairs; yet now, to our unspeak-
 “ able grief, after full six Months waiting, and
 “ much longer patience, and long suffering, We
 “ find all our great expectations answered in a mean
 “ and inconsiderable quantity of Provisions, viz, three-
 “ score and fifteen Barrels of Butter, and fourteen
 “ Tun of Cheese; being but the fourth part of a small
 “ Vessel’s Lading, which was sent from *London*, and
 “ arrived Here the fifth day of this Month, which is
 “ not above seven or eight days Provisions, for that
 “ part of the Army which lies in *Dublin*, and the out-
 “ Garrisons thereof; no Money or Victual (other
 “ than that inconsiderable proportion of Victual)

B O O K “ having arrived in this place, as sent from the Par-
 VII. “ liament of *England*, or from any other Fort of
 “ *England*, for the use of the Army, since the begin-
 “ ning of *November* last.”

“ We have, by the Blessing of God. been hitherto
 “ prosperous and successful in your Majesty’s Affairs
 “ here, and should be still hopeful, by the mercy of
 “ God, under the Royal directions of your sacred
 “ Majesty, to vindicate your Majesty’s Honor, to
 “ recover your Rights here, and take due Vengeance
 “ on those Traytors, for the Innocent Blood they
 “ have spilled, if We might be strengthened, and
 “ supported therein, by needful Supplies forth of
 “ *England*: but these Supplies having been hitherto
 “ expected to come from the Parliament of *England*
 “ (on which if your Majesty had not relied, We are
 “ assured you would, in your high Wisdom, have
 “ found out some other means to preserve this your
 “ Kingdom) and so great and apparent a failure hav-
 “ ing happened therein, and all the former, and late,
 “ long continuing Easterly Winds, bringing us no
 “ other Provisions, than those few Cheeses and Butter,
 “ and no advertisements being brought Us of any
 “ future Supply to be so much as in the way hither,
 “ whereby there might be any likelihood that con-
 “ siderable means of support for your Majesty’s
 “ Army might arrive here, in any reasonable time,
 “ before We be totally swallowed up by the Rebels,
 “ and your Kingdom by them wrested from you:
 “ We find ourselves so disappointed of our hopes
 “ from the Parliament, as must needs trench to the
 “ utter loss of the Kingdom, if your Majesty in your

“ high Wisdom, ordain not some present means of
 “ preservation for Us. And considering that if now,
 “ by occasion of that unhappy, and unexpected
 “ failing of Support from thence, We shall be less
 “ successful in your Service here against the Rebels,
 “ than hitherto, whilst We were enabled with some
 “ means to serve you, We have been, the shame and
 “ dishonor may, in common construction of those
 “ that know not the inwards of the Cause, be imputed
 “ to Us, and not to the Failings that disabled Us: And
 “ considering principally, and above all things, the
 “ high and eminent trust of your Affairs here, de-
 “ posited with Us by your sacred Majesty, We may
 “ not forbear, in discharge of our Duty, thus freely
 “ and plainly to declare our humble apprehensions,
 “ to the end your Majesty, thus truly understanding
 “ the terribleness of our condition, may find out
 “ some such means of Support, to preserve to your
 “ Majesty and your Royal Posterity this your An-
 “ cient, and Rightful Crown, and Kingdom: and
 “ derive deliverance and safety to the remnant of your
 “ good Subjects yet left here, as in excellent Judge-
 “ ment you shall find to be most for your Honor,
 “ and Advantage. And so praying the King of Kings
 “ to guide, and direct you for the best, in this high
 “ and important Cause, and in all other your Coun-
 “ sels and Actions, We humbly remain:

*From your Majesty's Castle of Dublin the 11th of
 May 1643.*

There was no sober Man in *Ireland* or *England*,
 who believed it to be in the King's Power to enable
 this People to carry on that War; for all Men too

B O O R well knew, that he had neither Money, Victual,
VII. Ammunition, or Shipping, to supply them: and therefore his Majesty could not but conclude, that by this application of that State to him, they hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that War which he could not maintain. And it is very true, that, at the same time with this Letter, he received Advice and Information, from some of his prime Ministers of that Kingdom, who were well known, and acknowledged, perfectly to abhor the Rebellion, "that there was no reasonable hope of preserving his Protestant Subjects, and his own Interest in that Kingdom, but by Treating with the Rebels, and making a Peace, or Truce with them." The King well foresaw to what reproaches he should object himself, by entering into such a Treaty with those Rebels; and that they who had persuaded many to believe, that he had given countenance to, if not fomented the Rebellion, against all human Evidence that can be imagined, would more easily gain credit, when they should be able to say, that he had made a Peace with them: Besides that he had bound himself not to make a Peace with the Rebels in *Ireland*, without the consent of his two Houses of Parliament in *England*. On the other side, nothing was more demonstrable, than that his Protestant Subjects there, could not defend the little they had left, without extraordinary aid and assistance out of *England*; that it was impossible for him to send any to them, and as visible, that the Parliament Would not, or Could not; so that it seemed only in his Election, whether he would preserve the remainder of his

Protestant Subjects there, and that whole Kingdom, in dependance upon his Crown, with the inconvenience of some perverse and unreasonable scandal; or suffer them to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual obloquy of having lost a Kingdom, when it was in his own power to have retained it within his Subjection: and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those Acts of Parliament which he had passed for the relief of *Ireland*, before any Rebellion in *England*, was not, that there might never be a Peace in *Ireland*, but that the two Houses might co-operate with him, whereby the Rebels might be reduced to those Straits, that they might be compelled to submit to the performance of their Duties: and that, instead of any such co-operation, the two Houses refused to concur with him in any thing, and had employed those Monies, which had been raised by those very Acts, for the relief of *Ireland*, in the maintenance of the Armies which had given his Majesty Battle in *England*, expressly contrary to the words of those Acts; and therefore that his Majesty might be reasonably disengaged from those Covenants on His part.

Upon these considerations, after two Months delay, to see whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh importunities, and advices from thence, about the end of *July*, the King writ to the Lords Justices in *Ireland*, “ that they
“ should issue out a Commission, under the Great-
“ Seal of *Ireland*, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, to Treat
“ and Conclude a Cessation of Arms with the
“ Rebels, upon such Articles and Conditions as he
“ should judge most reasonable; and during that

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“ Cessation, that such Agents as they should make
“ choice of, should have access to his Royal Person,
“ to present their own Propositions for Peace:” so
careful was the King not to infringe that Act of
Parliament, which many understood to be dissolved
by themselves: there being no colorable cause in it, by
which it was not in his Majesty’s own power to make
a Cessation; and the Peace itself he respite in such a
manner, that he might receive advice and concurrence
from the Parliament, if they would not decline any
farther consideration or care of that Kingdom.

Hereupon the Lord-Marquis of *Ormond*, being
then only General of the Horse there, entered upon a
Treaty with Commissioners authorized by the
Council at *Kilkenny*; to whose jurisdiction the Rebels
had committed the whole Government of their
Affairs; and Articles of Cessation being prepared for
a Year, and perused, and approved by the Lords-
Justices and Council, without whose advice the Mar-
quis would not proceed, and all the principal Officers
of the Army having given it under their hands, being
present likewise at the Treaty, “ that it was most
“ necessary for the preservation of that Kingdom,
“ that a Cessation should be made for a Year, upon
“ those Articles and Conditions; and the Rebels
“ undertaking to pay to his Majesty’s use, thirty
“ thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling,
“ within a short time; whereof fifteen thousand eight
“ hundred pounds in ready Money, and the other
“ fifteen thousand pounds, one half in Money, and
“ the other half in good Beefs, at thirty pounds the
“ Score;” a Cessation of Arms was concluded by
the

the Marquis; and published, with the Articles and Conditions, by the Lords-Justices and Council of *Ireland*, to begin on the fifteenth day of *September*, and to continue for the space of a whole year.

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This Cessation was no sooner known in *England*, but the two Houses declared against it, with all the sharp glosses upon it to his Majesty's dishonor that can be imagined; persuading the People, "that the Rebels were now brought to their last Gasps, and reduced to so terrible a Famine, that, like *Cannibals*, they ate one another, and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if, by the Popish-Counsels at Court, the King had not been persuaded to consent to this Cessation." It is one of the Instances of the strange, fatal misunderstanding, which possessed this time, that, notwithstanding all the caution the King used in meddling at all with the business of that Kingdom from the time of the Rebellion, and the clear discovery of all particular reasons, grounds, and Counsels, when he found it necessary to interpose in it, the calumnies and slanders raised to his Majesty's disservice and dishonor, made a more than ordinary impression upon the minds of Men, and not only of Vulgar-spirited People, but of those who resisted all other infusions, and infection. And posterity, no question, will inquire, from what rise or spring this disadvantage flowed; to which Inquiry I can apply no other satisfaction, besides the disease of the time; which imputed all designs to designs upon Religion, and whatsoever was done by Papists, to the Zeal of the Queen on the behalf of her own Religion; then that the chief Managers, and

A Cessation
of Arms
concluded for
a year in
Ireland,
Sept. 7.
disowned by
the two Hou-
ses at West-
minster:

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Conductors of Their Counsels, found it necessary to aver many things of Fact upon their own knowledge (by which they found the understanding of Men liable to be captivated) which in truth were not so: As I myself found by some sober Men, at such times as there was occasion of intercourse, and conference with them, that they did, upon such Assurance, believe that the King had done somewhat in that business of *Ireland* (some having avowed, that they had seen his hand to such and such Letters, and Instructions) which, upon as much knowledge, as any Man can morally have of a Negative, I am sure he never did.

I shall here insert, as the most natural and proper Evidence of the State of *Ireland*, at the time of the Cessation, and of the unanswerable Motives which prevailed with the King to consent to it, two Letters; the one, of Expostulation from the two Houses to the Lords-Justices and Council, which was received by them after the Cessation agreed on, though seeming to be sent before; and the Answer of that Board thereunto; with the Contents whereof, the King, nor any of his Council attending on him, was not at all acquainted, till long after their delivery. The Letters were in these words.

To Our very good Lords, the Lords-Justices, and Council, for the Kingdom of Ireland.

“ Our very good Lords,

“ The Lords and Commons in Parliament, have
 “ Commanded Us to let you know, they have seen
 “ your Letter of the tenth of *June*, directed to the

A Letter
 concerning
 it, from the
 two Houses

“ Speaker of the House of Commons, accompanied B O O K
 “ with an Act of State, in the Preamble whereof is an VIL.
 “ expression to this effect, that your present difficul- to the Lords
 “ ties are occasioned through the failure of the Justices, Ju-
 “ Houses of Parliament in *England*, who undertook ly 4. 1643.
 “ the charge of this War. This Letter, and Act of
 “ Council, were sent by his Majesty from *Oxford*; to
 “ whom they believe you have sent Copies of both,
 “ and have just cause to suspect, that there is an
 “ impious design now on foot, to sell for nought the
 “ crying Blood of many hundred thousands of
 “ *British* Protestants, by a dishonorable, unsuffer-
 “ able Peace with the Rebels; and then to lay the
 “ blame and shame of this, upon the Parliament; a
 “ Plot suitable to those Counsels that have both pro-
 “ jected, and fomented this unparalleled Rebellion:
 “ for those who contrived the Powder-Treason,
 “ intended to lay it on the Puritans. And although
 “ they cannot think your Lordships intended to
 “ further this design by this expression, yet they
 “ have cause to believe, you have forgotten the pre-
 “ sent condition of this Kingdom; the Supplies they
 “ have sent thither of all sorts, even in the midst of
 “ their own wants; what relief going thither hath
 “ been taken away by Sea, and Land, and by whom;
 “ and what discouragements have been given them
 “ in return: so that, as your Lordships do truly
 “ observe the Protestant Party in that City desirous
 “ to contribute, in all things, towards preservation
 “ of that Kingdom, and that all the opposition
 “ therein is from those of the Popish Party, so ought
 “ you justly to conclude, that the Protestant Party

B O O K “ in this Kingdom have contributed, and are still
 VII. “ endeavouring to contribute, Monies, Ammunition,
 “ Victuals, and other Necessaries, for the saving of
 “ that Kingdom: And that the Popish, and Malig-
 “ nant Party here, now in Arms against the Parlia-
 “ ment and Kingdom, have not assisted, in the least
 “ measure, this pious work; but, on the contrary,
 “ do hinder, and oppose the same: Neither should
 “ your Lordships conceive, that only the charge of
 “ that War was referred to, and undertaken by the
 “ Parliament, as if Their part was to be Your
 “ Bankers, only to provide Money for You to spend,
 “ and were not to advise and direct the managing of
 “ the War; although an Act of Parliament hath
 “ invested them with that Power; which they must
 “ assume and vindicate as the means to save that
 “ Kingdom; and shall bring to condign punishment
 “ those there, who, in this conjuncture of Affairs,
 “ have advised the Commission to hear what the
 “ Rebels can say, or propound, for their own Ad-
 “ vantage; the Letters to divest their Committee of
 “ an Authority given them by both Houses; and that
 “ advised the late alteration of Government there;
 “ as Enemies to the Weal of both Kingdoms, and
 “ Faultors of that Rebellion. In the last place, We
 “ are forbidden to tell you, what Supplies of Money,
 “ Victuals, Ammunition, and other Necessaries, are
 “ in good forwardness to be sent over, for the support
 “ of the Officers and Soldiers there, and by whose
 “ incessant care; lest they should seem to Answer
 “ that scandal by excuse, which deserves a high
 “ resentment. This being all We have in command

“ for the present, We bid your Lordships farewell, BOOK
 “ and remain, VII.

“ Your Lordships Friends to serve you,

Grey of Warke,

Speaker of the House of Lords pro tempore;

William-Lenthall,

Speaker of the Commons-House in Parliament.

“ The Lords and Commons will examine the
 “ demeanour of the Ships appointed to guard those
 “ Coasts; and might have expected a Copy of
 “ *Mountrose's* Letter to Colonel *Crawford*, which
 “ came to your hands before the 10th of *June*; and,
 “ happily, would discover the Treason of the
 “ Rebels, sent by your Enemies to destroy you; as
 “ well as a complaint of those Sea-Captains sent by
 “ your Friends to defend you; whose neglects and
 “ misdeeds are notwithstanding to be punished, ac-
 “ cording as their demerits shall appear.

Westminster the 4th of July 1643.

*To our very good Lord, the Lord-Speaker of the
 Right-Honorable the Lords-House of Parliament
 in the Kingdom of England; and to our very
 loving Friend, William Lenthall Esq; Speaker of
 the Honorable Commons-House in Parliament,
 in the said Kingdom.*

“ Our very good Lord, and Mr. Speaker of the
 “ Commons-House in Parliament,

“ Your joint Letters, of the fourth of *July* last, The Lords
 “ directed to Us, were so long in coming, as they Justices
Answer.

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“ came not to our hands until the sixth of *October*.
 “ By those your Letters, you signify, that the Lords
 “ and Commons in Parliament, have commanded
 “ you to let us know, that they have seen our Letters
 “ of the tenth of *June*, directed to the Speaker of the
 “ House of Commons, accompanied with an Act of
 “ State, in the preamble whereof, there is an expres-
 “ sion to this effect, that our present difficulties were
 “ occasioned through the failure of the Houses of
 “ Parliament in *England*, who undertook the charge
 “ of this War, to which expression, it seems, excep-
 “ tion is taken, and interpretations made thereof, far
 “ otherwise we are sure than was intended by Us;
 “ and, as We conceive, otherwise than the true sense
 “ of those words can bear. It is true, that when We
 “ were necessitated to set on foot the new imposition,
 “ raised here in nature of an Excise, towards keeping
 “ this Army from perishing by Famine, it became
 “ necessary to express, in the Act of Council where-
 “ by We ordered it, the reasons inducing Us to set
 “ on foot here a thing so unknown to his Majesty’s
 “ Laws, and gracious Government, and the difficul-
 “ ties wherewith We contended, which did
 “ necessitate that resolution; and in expressing those
 “ difficulties, We used that expression, to show
 “ whence our difficulties were occasioned; and that
 “ We have therein declared the truth, We crave
 “ leave to mind you of some particulars.

“ If We should look so far back as to repeat the
 “ Substance of many despatches sent from this Board,
 “ since the beginning of this Rebellion; some, to our
 “ very good Lord, the Lord-Lieutenant of this

“ Kingdom; some to the Lords, and others, Members
 “ of both Houses, his Majesty’s Commissioners for
 “ the Affairs of this Kingdom, and some to the
 “ Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament
 “ there; it would prove a voluminous work; and
 “ therefore We forbear to look farther back into
 “ those despatches, than to the time when the Com-
 “ mittee sent thence hither, were here; who, at their
 “ Arrival here, in the end of *October* 1642, brought
 “ with them some Money and Provisions, but far
 “ short of that, which the Necessities of this Army
 “ required; and indeed so inconsiderable, in respect
 “ of those Necessities, as even before that Committee
 “ departed, they saw the Money they had brought,
 “ wholly issued; and the high and unavoidable
 “ necessity of a farther, speedy, and plentiful supply
 “ of Money, and other Provisions. By Letters from
 “ this Board of the 20th of *January* 1642, and directed
 “ to the Speaker of the Commons-House of Parlia-
 “ ment there, it was signified thither, that the
 “ Provisions of Victuals here, were then at the very
 “ bottom; that that Committee then here, had cer-
 “ tified thither those Wants; that if a personal supply
 “ of Victual arrived not here very speedily, the
 “ Army could not subsist, but must have been con-
 “ strained to disband, to the loss of this Kingdom,
 “ and utter destruction of the few Subjects here:
 “ that the want of Treasure here, to pay the Army,
 “ enforced this Board to issue Victual to the Com-
 “ mon-Soldier, and others, towards their pay, which
 “ did the sooner exhaust the Magazine of Victual;
 “ that the Captains, and other Officers, not having

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“ relief that way, were reduced to great extremities,
 “ as had been formerly often represented thither;
 “ and therefore this Board, by the said Letters, then
 “ moved, that Treasure might be sent us speedily,
 “ so to redeem the Officers from the Calamities they
 “ suffered, and this Board from their unsupportable
 “ Clamors; and to enable the payment, in some part,
 “ in Money to the Common Soldier; so to make the
 “ Victual-We then expected, to hold out the longer.
 “ It was also by those Letters then advertised thither,
 “ that the extremities of the Officers of the Army had
 “ begotten so much discontent amongst them, as
 “ divers Colonels, and others of them, presented at
 “ this Board a Remonstrance, whereof a Copy was
 “ then sent inclosed in the said Letters; which Re-
 “ monstrance did exceedingly trouble, and perplex
 “ Us, lest it might beget such distractions amongst
 “ Us, as might give too much advantage to the
 “ Rebels. But, after full Debate thereof at this Board,
 “ it was here directed, that in present, to render some
 “ Subsistence to the Officers until Treasure arrived
 “ forth of *England*, every Man in this City should
 “ bring in half of his Plate, to be paid for it when
 “ Treasure arrived; whereupon some Plate was
 “ brought in, and applied towards the Army. This
 “ Board did also signify by those Letters, that with-
 “ out some speedy relief forth of *England*, the Bur-
 “ den here was become too heavy to be borne; and
 “ therefore, in discharge of our Duty to God, to our
 “ Gracious Sovereign, to that Kingdom, and to
 “ This, We held ourselves bound clearly to make
 “ known, that unless We were speedily supplied

“ from thence, with Money, Arms, and Victual,
 “ it would be impossible for Us any farther to pro-
 “ cute this War, or to preserve from sudden con-
 “ fusion this State and Government: so highly did
 “ the discontent of the Officers, and the disorder of
 “ the Soldiers, threaten Us, that it might be easily
 “ apprehended, what, in all human probability,
 “ must become of Us, when it was then evident, that
 “ here was no Money, nor any possibility of pro-
 “ curing any in this City; when our Victuals were
 “ spent; when a great part of the Army had no
 “ Arms; upon which We doubted, and feared, for
 “ the reasons in those Letters expressed, that the Sol-
 “ diers would make Prey of Us and this City at last;
 “ and when We saw that the destruction, then threat-
 “ ened against Us, must then go farther, even to
 “ the loss of this Crown, and Kingdom; and to the
 “ highly endangering of that Kingdom also; which,
 “ for the Honor of his Majesty, and the *English* Na-
 “ tion, We by our said Letters desired might, by
 “ the Wisdom of that Honorable House, be speedily
 “ prevented, by hastening away, with all possible
 “ speed, Supply of Money, Arms, and Victuals.

“ By other Letters of this Board, directed to
 “ Mr. Speaker, and dated the said twentieth of
 “ *January* 1642, it was advertised thither, that it was
 “ become of absolute necessity, that there should be
 “ sent Us from thence, speedily, six hundred light
 “ Geldings for Recruits, to be defalcated out of the
 “ entertainments of those who should receive them.
 “ By other Letters from this Board, of the same date,
 “ directed to Mr. Speaker, it was signified thither;

B O O K “ that We had contracted an Agreement here with
 VII. “ *Theodore Schout*, and *Jacob Ablin*, Merchants, that
 “ *Anthony Tyrenes*, in *London*, or *Daniel Wibrant*,
 “ in *Amsterdam*, should receive seven thousand eight
 “ hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shil-
 “ lings; for which the said *Theodore* and *Jacob* had
 “ undertaken, by their agreement with Us to buy
 “ in *Holland*, and to Transport from thence hither,
 “ at their own charge and adventure, several pro-
 “ portions of Arms mentioned in a Docket, then
 “ sent inclosed in our said Letters; and they under-
 “ took so to secure it by insurance, and provide such
 “ a Ship of force, as We might be assured to have all
 “ those Arms arrive here by the tenth of *March* now
 “ last past. And We, by our said Letters, earnestly
 “ besought that the said Sum of seven thousand eight
 “ hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three shil-
 “ lings might, by order of that Honorable House,
 “ be speedily paid to the said *Tyrenes*, or *Wibrant*,
 “ that those Provisions might arrive here by the tenth
 “ of *March*; that we might not lose the advantage
 “ of the then next Spring, for recovering of such of
 “ the Sea-Ports, and other places of importance, as
 “ the Rebels had gotten; and for proceeding effec-
 “ tually in this War. Those Letters also moved for
 “ other provisions of War, which We conceived
 “ might be had in *England* in reasonable time. And
 “ We then sent a Docket of those also; desiring ear-
 “ nestly they might be sent us speedily. And although
 “ there was an Agent sent from hence in *Novem-*
 “ *ber*, 1641, to solicit the despatches sent from hence,
 “ who attended at *London*, when those our Letters

“ were sent hence; yet of so great importance was
 “ that despatch, requiring instant and speedy Answer
 “ and supply from thence, as We adjudged it necessary to give special Instructions to the Lord *Conway*,
 “ and others (besides that Agent then there attending)
 “ to move his Majesty, and solicit the Houses of
 “ Parliament, to hasten unto Us, with all possible
 “ Speed, the Provisions in those Letters contained:
 “ And that there might nothing be omitted, that by
 “ solicitation could be obtained, there were Agents
 “ also sent thither from the Army to solicit for them.
 “ By Letters from this Board of the twentieth of
 “ *February* 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, We again
 “ desired, with all possible earnestness, that the Pro-
 “ visions of all sorts, expressed in those three Letters
 “ of the twentieth of *January*, and the Dockets
 “ therewith sent, might be hastened to Us; and that
 “ the said seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and
 “ thirteen pounds three shillings, for Arms to be
 “ provided in *Holland*, might be speedily paid. And
 “ in those last Letters We again signified our miser-
 “ able, and unspeakable want of Victuals, Arms,
 “ Munition, Money, Shoes, and other Necessaries;
 “ and that if the Supplies We moved for, came not
 “ speedily, We were unavoidably in danger to be as
 “ much devoured by our own wants, as by the Sword
 “ of the Rebels; and that our want of Corn was so
 “ much the more, in regard that, in confidence to
 “ be plentifully supplied forth of *England*. We caused
 “ great destruction to be made of Corn; there being
 “ indeed nothing conducing more to the destruction
 “ of Rebels, than the burning of all Corn.

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“ We also then signified the necessity of sending a
“ farther supply of Powder, and Match; and We
“ declared, that no words could sufficiently express
“ the greatness of the danger We should incur, if our
“ Supplies came not speedily: that the Plate brought
“ in, amounted not to one thousand two hundred
“ pounds; a Sum very inconsiderable towards Relief
“ of the Officers. By Letters of this Board of the 25th
“ of *February* 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, We
“ signified, that when our means from thence failed,
“ and our credits could hold out no longer, We were
“ constrained, towards Relief of the Army, to force
“ from the Protestant Merchants here, as well *English*
“ as Strangers, not only the Commodities they had
“ brought hither, but the Native Commodities also;
“ undertaking to them that they should receive Pay-
“ ment at *London*; which failing, that those that
“ would supply Us, were disheartened, and durst
“ not come hither with Commodities; wherefore
“ We again, by those Letters, besought speedy sup-
“ ply from thence; declaring that otherwise, the
“ Army, and We, must perish; and so far we were
“ transported with grief, in the consideration of the
“ high extremities of this Kingdom, and Army, as
“ we did, by those Letters, lament for the shame and
“ dishonor, which We then foresaw would reflect
“ upon the *English* Nation, if then, after so long
“ and often forewarnings, given by Us to that Ho-
“ norable House, this Kingdom were lost, and that
“ for want of Supplies from thence; wherein We
“ then declared, that all the comfort left Us, was,
“ that We had done Our parts, and discharged our

“ duties to God, to his Majesty, and to all his King- B O O K
 “ doms, who must have borne their parts with Us in VII.
 “ so heavy a loss.

“ By Letters from this Board dated the 23^d of
 “ *March* 1642, directed to Mr. Speaker, We signi-
 “ fied that our wants enforced Us to distribute the
 “ Soldiers, for their Victuals, in and throughout
 “ this City and Suburbs; which, We signified, could
 “ not long hold, considering the poverty of this
 “ place; and therefore, to avoid utter Confusion,
 “ We did again and again beseech most earnestly,
 “ that, above all things, Victuals and Munition might
 “ be sent Us speedily; and that Money, Arms,
 “ Clothes, Shoes, and other Provisions might also
 “ be sent; declaring, that if they yet came speedily,
 “ the Kingdom, and his Majesty's Forces here, might
 “ be thereby redeemed out of part of their distresses;
 “ and We enabled, by the blessing of God, to give
 “ his Majesty such an account of this Kingdom, as
 “ would be for the Glory of the King our Master,
 “ and the Honor of the *English* Nation, in the sub-
 “ doing this horrid Rebellion; which, by reason of
 “ our wants, and in no other respect, was then grown
 “ very terrible: and We did again call for the Pro-
 “ visions, moved for by our several former Letters
 “ of the twentieth of *January*, and twentieth of *Fe-*
 “ *bruary*, and for the payment of the seven thousand
 “ eight hundred fourscore and thirteen pounds three
 “ shillings, for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, and
 “ those also which We expect from *London*; decla-
 “ ring, that unless those Supplies came, We should be
 “ disabled from doing Service on the Rebels the then

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“ next Spring, or the then succeeding Summer; and
 “ must undoubtedly put the Rebels into a condition
 “ of prevailing against Us, which We well believed,
 “ the Kingdom of *England* would never have per-
 “ mitted against so faithful Servants and valiant
 “ Soldiers, as his Majesty yet had here.

“ By those Letters also We signified, that it was
 “ necessary that there should be here, at this Harbour
 “ of *Dublin*, by the middle of *April*, at least two Ships
 “ of good Strength; and that the Ships designed for
 “ guarding the other parts of the Coasts of this King-
 “ dom, should be hastened away with all possible
 “ speed By Letters from this Board directed to Mr.
 “ Speaker, dated the fourth of *April* 1643, We repre-
 “ sented again the unspeakable miseries of the Officers
 “ and Soldiers, for want of all things; and all those
 “ made the more insupportable in the want of food;
 “ and that this City was then apparently found to be
 “ unable to help Us, as it had formerly done; and
 “ repeated again, in as lively terms as We could, the
 “ high extremities fallen, and increasing upon Us;
 “ declaring, that We were enforced to see, who had
 “ any thing yet left him not taken from him, to help
 “ Us; and that although there were but few such,
 “ and some poor Merchants, whom We had formerly,
 “ by the Law of necessity, utterly undone; yet, that
 “ We were forced to wrest their Commodities from
 “ them: That there were few here, of ourselves or
 “ others, that had not felt their parts in the enforced
 “ rigor of our proceedings towards preserving the
 “ Army; and We earnestly desired, that his Majesty,
 “ and the *English* Nation, might not suffer so great,

“ if not irrecoverable prejudice and dishonor, as B O O K
“ must unavoidably be the consequence of our not VII.
“ being Relieved suddenly; but that Yet, although
“ it were then even almost at the point to be too late,
“ Supplies of Victuals, and Munition, in present
“ might be hastened hither, to keep Life, until the
“ rest might follow: declaring also, that there was
“ no Victual in the Store, and that there would not
“ be a hundred Barrels of Powder left, when the
“ out-Garrisons, as they must then instantly have
“ been, were supplied; and that the residue of our
“ Provisions must also come speedily after, or other-
“ wise that *England* could not hope to secure *Ireland*,
“ or secure Themselves against *Ireland*; but in the
“ loss of it, must look for such Enemies from hence,
“ as would 'perpetually disturb the Peace of his
“ Majesty, and his Kingdom of *England*; and among
“ them, by Sea and Land, as We had often formerly
“ represented thither; which mischiefs We signified
“ might yet be prevented, if We were but then forth-
“ with enabled from thence, with means to over-
“ come this Rebellion.

“ We then also again renewed our requests for
“ the Provisions, mentioned in our Letters of the
“ twentieth of *January*, and for the payment of the
“ seven thousand eight hundred fourscore and thir-
“ teen pounds three shillings, for Arms to be pro-
“ vided in *Holland*, besides those We expected
“ from *London*: We then also sent, inclosed in our
“ Letters to Mr. Speaker, a Copy of writing, signed
“ by sundry Officers of the Army, which was in a
“ Style threatening much danger; whereby appeared

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“ the high necessity of hastening Treasure hither to
 “ pay them, and the rest of the Officers, and provide
 “ Victual for the Soldiers. On the 10th of *April*, 1643,
 “ We received Letters from Mr. Speaker, of the
 “ seventeenth of *March*, in Answer to our Letters
 “ of the 20th and 25th of *February*. Those Letters
 “ from Mr. Speaker, advised free Trade and Truck
 “ to be given to Merchants, by taking our Native
 “ Commodities, that cannot be Manufactured here,
 “ for their Corn, and other Victuals, and carrying
 “ them into *England*, or other places not prohibited.
 “ And by our Letters directed to Mr. Speaker,
 “ dated the 22^d of *April*, in Answer to his said Letters
 “ of the seventeenth of *March*, We made it
 “ appear, that That design could not hold to derive
 “ benefit to this Army. By those our Letters we
 “ signified also, that the necessities of the Army still
 “ pressed Us, by degrees, to break the Merchants
 “ here, by wresting their Commodities from them,
 “ upon promise of satisfaction in *England*: that the
 “ failing of that satisfaction in *England*, as it had
 “ undone Them, so had it infinitely prejudiced the
 “ Service here: that We engaged the word of this
 “ State, to procure payment to many others, out of
 “ the next Treasure that shall arrive forth of *England*
 “ (which Courses though very hard, did help us for a
 “ time) that when those failed, We begun at ourselves,
 “ than at Others, then at all Fraternities, and Corpora-
 “ tions, as Bakers, Brewers, Butchers, Vintners, and
 “ the like; then at all particular Persons observed to
 “ have any visible substance, not being able to spare
 “ poor Men, who (to gain a poor living) made
 profession,

“ profession, some of selling Hot-Waters, and some
 “ of Cutting Tobacco: that in the end, all other
 “ means failing, We had recourse to the only Native
 “ Commodity, Hides; seizing on all that could be
 “ found, either on Ship-board, ready to be exported
 “ hence (with purpose in some of the owners of them
 “ to return Victuals hither; which We were not able
 “ to wait for) or on Shore, prepared for Ship-board;
 “ and made use of them to get the Army in a few
 “ days Bread, still hoping Provisions of Victual
 “ might come to keep them alive; which did draw
 “ upon Us infinite Clamor.

“ And by the said Letters we earnestly besought,
 “ that before We should be utterly swallowed up in
 “ the confusion of Affairs, wherewith We were
 “ beset, the destruction of this State, and Army,
 “ and Kingdom, being then no less feared to arise
 “ from the Army, though sent hither for their pre-
 “ servation, than from the fury of the Rebels, if that
 “ Honorable House would not look back into all our
 “ several Letters sent thither, which We then de-
 “ clared should for ever acquit Us before God, and
 “ the World; as having discharged our Duties to
 “ God, to his Majesty, and to this his Kingdom, in
 “ fully, and timely, and often representing thither
 “ the evils then ready to seize upon this State, the
 “ Army, and the Kingdom, and the means of pre-
 “ venting them; yet at last they would be pleased to
 “ review our said several Letters of the 20th and 25th
 “ of *February*, of the 20th of *January*, 23^d of *March*,
 “ and 4th of *April*. We then also signified that the
 “ Soldiers, pressed through wants, attempted Tu-
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“ mults, and Mutiny, plundered divers of the Inha-
“ bitants of this City, as well *English*, and Protestants,
“ as others: that We apprehended those disorders
“ but beginnings of what, We doubted, would
“ then shortly ensue, even the Ranlack of this City,
“ if by Supplies forth of *England* it were not pre-
“ vented: that then there would be no refuge left,
“ either for the Army, or other *English* here: that
“ We were not able to send out the Soldiers, for
“ want of Money to furnish ordinary necessities, and
“ of Ammunition: wherefore We then again ear-
“ nestly moved, that some means might be found
“ for complying with our desires, in those our several
“ Letters expressed; certifying, that the State of
“ Affairs here, could not possibly admit the least
“ deferring; and that no help was to be expected
“ from hence; as We had often, and fully, in former
“ Letters, signified thither: that if it were not imme-
“ diately supplied forth of *England* with Powder,
“ we should not be able to defend ourselves, or
“ offend the Rebels; and that, above all things,
“ Munition, Money, and Victuals, were, of neces-
“ sity, to be sent in the first place; and the other
“ Provisions to be sent after, which also We certified
“ most needful to be done with all possible speed.

“ By our Letters of the sixth of *May* 1643, directed
“ to Mr. Speaker, We signified how necessary it
“ was, that the intended Establishment should be
“ considered there, and put into such a way as to be
“ made perfect, and, receiving his Majesty's gracious
“ Approbation, might be sent hither; which We
“ desired to be hastened, that the Officers, who

“ daily labor in the public Services, might the better
 “ know what they are to have; of which Establishment
 “ We have not yet had any return. By our
 “ Letters to Mr. Speaker of the 11th of *May* 1643,
 “ We signified, that although by Letters from Mr.
 “ Speaker dated the 17th day of *March*, it was Advertised
 “ hither, that six weeks Provisions of Victuals,
 “ for each Province, was in preparing, yet that it
 “ was not come, or if it was come, that it was a
 “ Supply far below that which was necessary to be
 “ then sent hither. And We then again repeated the
 “ miserable Condition of this Army, through want
 “ of all things, especially Money, Victuals, Clothes,
 “ Arms and Munition: that there was not above
 “ forty Barrels of Powder in the Store (a mean and
 “ inconsiderable quantity for this Army, on whom
 “ depends the preservation of the Kingdom) and We
 “ again desired, in case of so high and eminent
 “ danger, and that with all possible importunity,
 “ that a course might be then instantly taken for
 “ hastening away Powder with all speed, and that
 “ the other Provisions also of all sorts, mentioned
 “ in our former several Letters of the 20th of *January*,
 “ 20th, and 25th of *February*, the 23^d of *March*, and
 “ the 4th, and 22^d of *April*, might be also hastened
 “ away; and that the seven thousand eight hundred
 “ and fourscore and thirteen Pounds three shillings,
 “ for Arms to be provided in *Holland*, besides those
 “ We expected from *London*, might be paid.

“ By those Letters also We signified, that We
 “ could not but lament our misfortune, and the
 “ dishonor reflecting on the *English* Nation, that the

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“ Season of the year should be so far entered into, and
 “ yet (notwithstanding all the representations, often,
 “ and timely enough made thither of Affairs here)
 “ no means put into our Power to make Use thereof,
 “ in a vigorous prosecution of the War; but instead
 “ thereof, notwithstanding all the endeavour and
 “ industry here used to prevent it, We then beheld
 “ ourselves sunk deeply into a Gulph of Confusion,
 “ and distress of Affairs, being equally in danger
 “ to be devoured through our wants, or to be de-
 “ stroyed by the Rebels, for want of needful Habili-
 “ ments of War to enable our Defence, as had been
 “ formerly often and fully declared thither; and
 “ therefore We again pressed to be redeemed from
 “ the terribleness of our Condition, by such timely
 “ accessions of Supplies forth of *England*, as were
 “ contained in our said former despatches.

“ By our Letters to Mr. Speaker, dated the six-
 “ teenth of *May* 1643, We desired that 320l. might be
 “ paid there, as we had formerly desired, for sundry
 “ particulars necessary for the Surgeons of this
 “ Army; there being a great want thereof for the
 “ Cures of wounded Men. And then We sent, and
 “ employed Sir *Thomas Wharton* Knight, a Member
 “ of this Army, purposely to solicit the means of
 “ our Relief, that so We might omit nothing that
 “ We conceived might conduce to the hastening of
 “ our expected Supplies. And by our Letters of the
 “ sixteenth of *May*, then sent to Mr. Speaker, We
 “ signified, that the Kingdom was then in more
 “ danger than ever to be forced out of our hands,
 “ for want of timely Supplies out of *England*; and

“ We desired most earnestly, that his despatch might
 “ be hastened for our preservation, that, if it were
 “ possible, the King, and Kingdom of *England*, might
 “ yet then be preserved from that irrecoverable pre-
 “ judice and dishonor, which must necessarily accom-
 “ pany, and follow the loss of this Kingdom.

“ And here We may not omit to mention, that
 “ We prevailed with divers Persons to advance Pro-
 “ visions to Us, at several times, to answer the crying
 “ necessities of this Army; and to some, We gave
 “ our Bills, in nature of Bills of exchange, and to
 “ others, our own Bonds, undertaking repayment at
 “ *London* by the Parliament there; which We did
 “ in confidence to find ready Payment there accord-
 “ ingly : and We do not yet hear that those Bills of
 “ exchange, or Bonds, are yet paid there; but We
 “ find some of the Parties ready to sue, and implead
 “ Us here, for those Debts, though contracted only
 “ for the public Service.

“ Which proceeding of this Board, from time to
 “ time, We thus at large deduce, that so it may
 “ appear fully that We have discharged those duties
 “ which We owe to his Majesty, and to the trust of
 “ his Majesty’s Affairs here, in representing thither
 “ fully, and timely, and often, the wants and extre-
 “ mities to which this Kingdom and Army were
 “ reduced, and the means requisite to be sent for
 “ relief and preservation of both; and yet in all that
 “ time, namely from the said twentieth day of *Janu-*
 “ *ary* 1642, to the tenth of *June* 1643, which is the
 “ day of the date of our Letters, to which yours of
 “ the fourth of *July* is an Answer, or from that time

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“ to this, there arrived here, as sent from the Parlia-
 “ ment of *England*, towards the Relief of this Army,
 “ and for maintenance of this War, but the particu-
 “ lars following, viz. forty-nine thousand two
 “ hundred forty-eight pounds of Butter; forty nine
 “ thousand six hundred forty-nine pounds of Cheefe;
 “ four hundred forty-seven Barrels and a half of
 “ Wheat, and Rye; three hundred threescore and
 “ seven Barrels of Pease; and three hundred fifty-six
 “ Barrels of Oats; also five hundred Suits of
 “ Clothes, one thousand Cassocks, two thousand
 “ eight hundred and eighteen Caps, also eight-and-
 “ twenty hundred three quarters and one pound of
 “ Match; thirty-eight hundred two quarters and
 “ nine pound of Shot, and three hundred threescore
 “ and fourteen Barrels of Powder; of which Pro-
 “ visions of Munition, there were three hundred and
 “ one and forty Barrels of Powder, and five hundred
 “ fifty-five pound two quarters and four-and-twenty
 “ pound of Match, which was the Munition We
 “ had contracted for here, and in the way, coming
 “ from *Holland*, was intercepted at Sea. and carried
 “ to *Calais*, and afterwards set free there by the
 “ mediation of his Majesty, and the Houses of Par-
 “ liament in *England*; but the price thereof stands
 “ charged on the said Houses of Parliament.

“ This was not above a week's Provision, or
 “ thereabouts, of Victuals, for the Army in *Leinsler*,
 “ being fifteen Regiments of Foot, and twenty-two
 “ Troops of Horse, and four Troops of Dragoons,
 “ besides Train of Artillery, and four hundred
 “ Firelocks; so as certainly there was a failure in

“ supplying Us , and that failure was not occasioned
 “ through any neglect on Our parts, in not represent-
 “ ing thither the wants and extremities endured by
 “ this Army ; and the means of their Supply is , as
 “ We conceive, very clear by those several despatches
 “ sent from Us to Mr Speaker. And seeing, that
 “ the charge of this War was referred to, and under-
 “ taken by the Houses of Parliament of *England* ,
 “ and that by those despatches they fully understood
 “ the Condition of affairs here, We offer it to any
 “ Man’s consideration , whether or no We had not
 “ just cause to conceive , and accordingly to express
 “ in that Act of Council, that our difficulties, which
 “ were necessary to be mentioned in that Act, were
 “ occasioned through the failure of the Houses of
 “ Parliament in *England*.

“ And whereas you write , that the Lords and
 “ Commons in Parliament do believe We have sent
 “ Copies of our said Letters, and Act of Council to
 “ his Majesty, it is true, that We have so done ; and
 “ therein acquitted ourselves towards that Duty
 “ which We owe Him ; and had failed in our Duties,
 “ if We had done otherwise. But how from that, as
 “ We conceive, necessary and true expression of Ours
 “ in the said Act of Council, or from our sending a
 “ Copy thereof, and of our said Letters to his Ma-
 “ jesty, there can be any just cause to suspect (as your
 “ Letters seem to infer) there is such an impious
 “ design now on foot , as your Letters mention , We
 “ confess We do not understand, or any design at all
 “ other than the needful settling here of the im-
 “ position, in Nature of an Excise , in those our Letters

BOOK VII. " and Act of Council mentioned ; without which
 " this Army could not have subsisted to this time ;
 " and was pressed by the Committee from the Par-
 " liament here, but then avoided ; Our hopes being
 " then more, and our necessities not so great as they
 " were when We laid it. And as We find by your
 " Letters, that the Lords and Commons in Parlia-
 " ment there have done Us the right, by your said
 " Letters, to signify that they cannot think We
 " intended by that expression, to farther the design
 " in your Letters mentioned, so We hold it necessary
 " to declare, that We neither have forgotten, nor can
 " forget, the present Condition of that Kingdom ;
 " but We have a long time beheld, and still behold,
 " and lament with bleeding Hearts, the woful Con-
 " dition of that Kingdom, and how God's hand is
 " still stretched out against Us, in those heavy Distrac-
 " tions there ; yet We comfort ourselves with hope,
 " that God, in mercy to his Majesty, and to all his
 " Kingdoms and People, will at length, in his own
 " good time, answer the Prayers and Tears of Us his
 " Majesty's Servants, and many thousands of others
 " his good Subjects there, and here, continually
 " poured out for his Majesty, and his Kingdom, in
 " removing that heavy judgment, and settling Peace
 " and Tranquillity there, to the Glory of God, the
 " Honor of his Majesty, and the joint Happiness of all
 " his Subjects, in all his Kingdoms and Dominions.
 " Nor have We forgotten the Supplies of all sorts
 " sent hither by the Parliament, but do very well
 " remember them. But We confess We know not,
 " what relief coming hither hath been taken away,

“ either by Sea or Land, or by whom, or what dis-
 “ couragement hath been given them in return :
 “ Only We have heard, that the Shipping, employed
 “ by the Rebels at *Wexford*, did give them some
 “ interruption at Sea; and that was occasioned by
 “ neglect of duty in those who Commanded the
 “ Ships designed for the Guard of the Coasts of this
 “ Kingdom: And the said Ship bound hither from
 “ *Holland* with Munition, which We had contracted
 “ for here, was intercepted at Sea, and carried to
 “ *Calais*, and afterwards set free there, by the media-
 “ tion of his Majesty and the Houses of Parliament in
 “ *England*. And We find that some Ships, sent hither
 “ it seems at first with Provisions from *London*, and
 “ other Ships bound hither with Provisions on pri-
 “ vate Men’s Adventures, were taken away even
 “ from this Harbour, a few days before the Cessation
 “ of Arms here, as they were coming in, and carried
 “ to *Liverpool*, by one Captain *Dauſk*, a Person em-
 “ ployed by the two Houses of Parliament there, in
 “ the Command of a Ship, and that Ship commanded
 “ by *Dauſk*, and other Ships employed at *Liverpool*,
 “ do now, and have a long time stayed on that side,
 “ laden with Provisions of Victuals, Coals, and other
 “ necessary relief bound from thence hither to be
 “ sold; which, if they had arrived here, would have
 “ brought great relief to this Army, and the Inhabit-
 “ ants in this City, though on the Adventure of the
 “ Bringers; which We hold necessary to represent
 “ thither, to the end that their uncharitableness
 “ towards these poor Men that would Adventure
 “ hither to relieve us, and their inhumanity towards

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“ this distressed Army, and City, and many of his
“ Majesty’s Protestant Subjects therein, might ap-
“ pear so, as they, or others, may not presume here-
“ after to offend in that kind.

“ And whereas you write, that We should not
“ conceive that only the Charge of this War was re-
“ ferred to, and undertaken by the Parliament, as if
“ Their part were to be our Bankers, only to pro-
“ vide Monies for Us to spend, and were not to
“ advise, and direct the managing of the War; We
“ confess We neither did, nor do conceive the Par-
“ liament there to be Bankers for Us; but did esteem
“ them, as those to whom the King our Master
“ referred the Charge of this War, and to whom, as
“ so intrusted by his Majesty, this Board from time
“ to time, made application; and if any advice had
“ come from them, concerning the managing of the
“ War, We should have endeavoured to have made
“ the best use thereof, for the furtherance of his Ma-
“ jesty’s Service here. And here We hold it necessary
“ to declare, that when We understood, that his
“ Majesty, at the humble desire of the Lords and
“ Commons of Parliament in *England*, had, in
“ *April* 1642, granted a Commission to some Mem-
“ bers of both Houses, for ordering and disposing
“ all matters there, for the defence, relief, and re-
“ covery of this Kingdom; and that his Majesty
“ Commanded all his Officers, Ministers, and Sub-
“ jects of his Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, to
“ be obedient, aiding, and assisting to the said
“ Commissioners in the due execution of the said
“ Commission; and that by his Majesty’s instructions,

“ annexed to the said Commission, his Majesty gave
 “ it in charge to those Commissioners, to advertise
 “ his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the Council, and other
 “ Governors and Commanders here, what they
 “ conceived to be needful for the prosecution of the
 “ War in the best manner, for the defence of this his
 “ Kingdom, and ease of the great Charges and Expens-
 “ ses, which, by occasion of this Rebellion, lay
 “ upon his loving Subjects of his Kingdom of *Eng-
 “ land*: We therefore, by our Letters of the seventh
 “ of *June* 1642, directed to those his Majesty’s Com-
 “ missioners, besought, among other things, present
 “ and particular direction for the prosecution of the
 “ War; which yet We have not received: only
 “ We had advice from thence, to send some Forces
 “ into *Connaught*; which was done; and for sending
 “ some Forces into *Munster*, which, by Our Letters
 “ of the thirteenth of *September* 1642 to the Commis-
 “ sioners there, We signified was not possible for Us
 “ to do, unless We were plentifully supplied of those
 “ things, whereof the wants then certified thither did
 “ then disable Us.

“ Concerning the Commission in your Letters men-
 “ tioned, it was not to hear what the Rebels would
 “ say, or propound for their own advantage, as your
 “ Letters mention; but his Majesty having received
 “ an humble Petition, in the name of the Recusants
 “ of *Ireland*, desiring to be heard, his Majesty thought
 “ it not unjust, or inconvenient for him, to receive
 “ from them what they could say unto him; to whom
 “ they insinuated that they would yet yield due obe-
 “ dience. And therefore his Majesty, by his Com-

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“ mission under the Great Seal of *England* (wherein
 “ he declared his extreme detestation of the odious
 “ Rebellion, which the Recusants of *Ireland* have,
 “ without any ground or color, raised against Him,
 “ his Crown, and Dignity) Authorized some of his
 “ Ministers here, to hear at large what the Petitioners
 “ should say, or propound; which his Majesty, by
 “ the said Commission, directed that the Petitioners,
 “ or the principal of them, Authorized by the rest,
 “ should set down in writing under their hands; and
 “ the Commissioners to send the same to his Majesty;
 “ whereupon his Majesty by the said Commission
 “ declared, he would take such farther consideration,
 “ as should be just, honorable, and fit for his Ma-
 “ jesty: And that that Course gave not the least inter-
 “ ruption to the proceeding of the War, appears by
 “ this, that on the eighteenth of *March* (being in the
 “ time the Commissioners, Authorized by his Ma-
 “ jesty, gave meeting to those of the other side, upon
 “ that Commission) the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*,
 “ though one of those Commissioners, in his return
 “ from *Rosse* with about two thousand five hundred
 “ Foot, and five hundred Horse of his Majesty’s
 “ Army, fought with the Army of the Rebels,
 “ consisting of about six thousand Foot, and six hun-
 “ dred and fifty Horse, and obtained a happy and
 “ glorious Victory against them; and the Rebels
 “ Army being Defeated, and wholly Routed, and
 “ their Baggage and Munition seized on, his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Forces lodged that night where they had
 “ gained the Victory, as by former Letters of this
 “ Board, of the fourth of *April* 1643, directed to Mr.

“ Speaker, We formerly signified thither : which
“ We thus repeat, to manifest that that Commission,
“ or the Meeting thereupon, gave not any manner
“ of interruption to the proceeding of the War.

“ Concerning the Letters you mention, to divest
“ the Committee of both Houses there of an Author-
“ ity given them by both Houses, We remember
“ that his Majesty, by his Letters of the third of *Fe-*
“ *bruary* 1642, understanding that the then Justices
“ and Council had admitted, without His order or
“ knowledge, to sit in Council with them in this his
“ Kingdom, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* and Mr. *Reynolds*,
“ and that thereby they were become so bold, as to
“ take upon them to hear, and debate of matters
“ Treated of in Council, his Majesty, by his said
“ Letters, signified by his exprefs Command, that
“ they should not be permitted to sit, or be present
“ any more at his Majesty’s Council-Table here ; but
“ if they had any business, his Majesty willed, that
“ they should attend as others of their Quality :
“ which his Majesty’s pleasure was humbly obeyed
“ by his said Justices, and Council, with that Duty
“ and Submission, which was due from them to his
“ Royal Commands. And as his Majesty, by his said
“ Letters required, that, if those Persons had any
“ business, they should attend, as others of their
“ Quality ; so, if they had afterwards offered any
“ business at this Board, they should have been heard
“ therein ; which was also signified to them before
“ their departure hence. And now, upon this occa-
“ sion, We having perused the Copies they delivered
“ at this Board, of the Order of both Houses dated

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“ the fixth of *October* 1642, and of their Instructions,
 “ do find indeed, that, by the said Order, the said
 “ *Robert Reynolds*, and *Robert Goodwin*, were to have
 “ the Credence, Power, and Esteem of a Com-
 “ mittee sent hither by the Advice, and Authority
 “ of both Houses of Parliament; and that, by the
 “ said Instructions, they were to be admitted to be
 “ present, and Vote at all Consultations concerning
 “ the War; yet there is nothing in the said Order, or
 “ Instructions, for admitting them to sit, or be pre-
 “ sent at his Majesty’s Council-Table; which is that
 “ which his Majesty, by his said Letters, required,
 “ should not be permitted; which cannot be con-
 “ ceived to be a divelling them of any Authority
 “ given them by both Houses.

“ And as to the late Alteration of Governem^t there,
 “ expressed in your Letters, although his Majesty in
 “ his high wisdom adjudged it fit to alter one of those
 “ Governors, which he had placed here, which
 “ was no more than He, and his Royal Predecessors
 “ had usually done in all Ages, as often as they
 “ thought fit, yet that made no alteration in the
 “ Government; but it in all times continued, and
 “ still continues the same, though in other Persons.

“ That part of your Letters which declares, that
 “ you are forbidden to tell Us what Supplies of
 “ Money, Victual, Ammunition, and other Neces-
 “ saries, were then in a good forwardness to be sent
 “ hither for the support of the Officers, and Soldiers
 “ here, requires no Answer on Our parts, other than
 “ this truth, that they are not yet arrived here. Con-
 “ cerning *Mountrose’s* Letters to Colonel *Crawford*,

“ We know of no Treason to be discovered thereby ; B O O K
 “ but for the Sea-Captains in your Letters mentioned, VII.
 “ it is certain that their neglects and misdeeds deserve
 “ punishment, which We desire they may find rather
 “ to their correction , than to their ruin

“ Thus We have given Answer to those parts of
 “ your Letters, which, We conceived, concerned
 “ Us ; whereby , We hope, both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment there will now remain satisfied, as in the neces-
 “ sity and justice of our Actions , so in the truth and
 “ candor of our Intentions, in those particulars to
 “ which your said Letters seem to take exception.
 “ And so We remain,

From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin 28th of Oct. 1643.

“ Your Lordships very loving Friends,

<i>Jo. Borlase.</i>	<i>Hen. Tichborne.</i>	<i>Rich. Bolton, Canc.</i>
<i>La. Dublin.</i>	<i>Ormond.</i>	<i>Roscommon.</i>
<i>Ant. Midenfis.</i>	<i>Ed. Brabazon.</i>	<i>Char. Lambert.</i>
<i>Geo. Shurley.</i>	<i>Ger. Lowther.</i>	<i>Tho. Rotherham.</i>
<i>Fr. Willoughby.</i>	<i>Tho. Lucas.</i>	<i>Ja. Ware.</i>
	<i>G. Wentworth.</i>	

The distraction in *Ireland* being, by means of the Cessation, in some degree allayed, and both Parties having time to breathe, the King, in the next place, considered how he might apply that Cessation to the Advancement of his Affairs in *England*. One of the principal Motives that induced that Cessation, was the miserable State of the Army there, ready, through extreme wants, to disband ; so that there being now less use of them there, and an impossibility to keep them, his Majesty had it only in his Election, whether

B O O K he should suffer them there to disband, and dispose of
VII. themselves as they thought fit, which could not be without infinite disorder, and might probably prove as much to his particular disservice; or whether he should draw over such a number as might be safely spared, to his own Assistance in *England*; to which he was assured, that the devotion, and affection of most of the principal or considerable Officers there, cheerfully inclined; and of this latter he made little scruple to make choice, when he was not only informed of the preparations and readiness in *Scotland*, to invade this Kingdom; but that they had called over their old General, the Earl of *Leven*, who Commanded the *Scotch* Forces in *Ireland*, and many other Officers and Soldiers out of that Kingdom, to form and conduct their Army into This; and that there were also Arts and Industry used, by some Agents for the Parliament, to persuade the *English* Officers likewise to bring over their Men for their Service.

The King
 sends for part
 of the English
 Army out of
 Ireland.

So that the King directed the Marquis of *Ormond*, to make choice of such Regiments, and Troops, as were necessary for the Defence of the several Garrisons, or as could be provided for, and supported in that Kingdom, and that the rest should be sent for *England*. To which purpose, Shipping was sent; with direction that those from, and about *Dublin*, Should be Shipped for *Chester*, to be joined to those Forces under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; whereby he might be able to resist the growing power of Sir *William Bruerton*; who, by an addition of Forces from *London*, and with the Assistance of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and Sir *John Gell*, was grown very strong;
 being

being backed by *Lancashire*, which upon the matter was wholly reduced to the obedience of the Parliament: and that the other Forces out of *Munster* should be landed at *Bristol*, to be disposed by the Lord *Hopton*; who was forming a new Army, to oppose Sir *William Waller*; who threatened an Inroad into the West; or rather to seek him out by visiting *Hampshire*, and *Sussex*, if the other were not ready to advance.

The Court at *Oxford* was much increased by the Queen's Presence, and the necessities were increased with the expense. All correspondence was absolutely broken with *London*, insomuch as a sworn Messenger of the Chamber, sent to *London* with a Writ, and Proclamation for the Adjournment of the Term to *Oxford*, was apprehended as a Spy (as hath been said before) and executed by Martial Law; and the two Houses had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's Image, and Inscription, and put the same into the hands of Commissioners; and so the Courts were continued in *Westminster-Hall*, for the despatch of Justice (as they called it) as had been formerly, notwithstanding the King's Proclamation. The Money, which by the particular Persons of all conditions had been very plentifully supplied in the beginning of the War, now near spent, and the stopping the intercourse with *London*, had shut the door against farther Supply; so that all Men were weary of the condition they were in, and expressed it as weary Men used to do, in Murmurs and Complaints. And now all the hope was in the Convention of the Members of Parliament; which being a new thing, suspended the present indisposition, and administered some expect-

B O O K tation, what they, who came from all Quarters of the
VII Kingdom would do.

The Members
 of both Houses
 met at Oxford.

According to the King's Proclamation, the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who had withdrawn out of Conscience and Duty from those at *Westminster*, appeared at *Oxford* at the day appointed; except such as could not reasonably be absent from their Commands in the Counties, were the Armies were. They were graciously, and solemnly welcomed by his Majesty, with that Ceremony which is used at the opening of a Parliament; when his Majesty told them :

The Substance
 of the King's
 Speech to
 them.

“ That he had called them to be Witnesses of his
 “ Actions, and privy to his Intentions; and that he
 “ desired to receive any Advice from them, which
 “ they thought would be suitable to the miserable
 “ and distracted condition of the Kingdom; in pre-
 “ senting whereof, they should use all that Parlia-
 “ mentary freedom which would be due to them if
 “ they were with him at *Westminster*, and which,
 “ with all their other Privileges, they should enjoy at
 “ *Oxford*, though they could not in the other place;”
 with many expressions of grace towards them, and
 confidence in them. As soon as they had withdrawn
 to those places which were assigned to their Counsels,
 both Lords and Commons entered upon the deli-
 beration of all possible expedients, in order to Peace;
 most Men believing, according to the reason and
 conscience of their own hearts, that the difficulty was
 greater, to dispose those at *London* to the honesty and
 confidence of a Treaty, than, in that Treaty, to agree
 on such Conclusions as might be satisfactory to all
 Parties, judging it impossible, that Men could desire

to bring ruin and desolation upon their Country, if they were once persuaded that it might be prevented with their own preservation. But how to advance to any formality, which probably might produce a disposition to intercourse, appeared very hard. When they thought of advising the King to send a gracious Message and Overture to the two Houses, they presently remembered, and considered, what his Majesty had already done that way, and how ill returns of Reverence and Duty, he had received from them: That to the two last Messages he had sent (it being not possible now to send any more gracious and obliging) they had never returned Answer, and that they still detained his last Messenger in strict durance, after having exposed him to a Trial for his Life at a Court of War: That they had prohibited any kind of Address to be made to them from his Majesty, except through the hands of the Earl of *Essex* their General. From thence those at *Oxford* entered upon the disquisition, how they might engage his Lordship to the same thoughts and desires with them; to the which they easily believed, Experience, Observation, and Interest, would engage him. They persuaded themselves, that the principal ground which had hitherto frustrated all Overtures from his Majesty towards Peace, was the Conscience those at *Westminster* had of their own guilt, and the jealousy, that proceeded from thence, that no Peace could secure them, whilst there was power left in his Majesty; but that they could not possibly suspect the performance and exact observation of any agreement, which should be concluded upon the intercession of all the King's Party; which

BOOK must be security for the accomplishment of it. From
 VII. the reasonableness of this Assertion, they entertained
 an Assurance, that the Earl of *Essex* would as greedily
 embrace the opportunity, and concur with them in
 promoting the Overture; which was all they desired:
 for that would remove those forms, which, as so
 many Rocks, were in the way. Hereupon the Lords
 and Commons, the Members of both Houses, re-
 solved to write a Letter to the Earl of *Essex*, in their
 own Names, which, with the King's Consent, was by
 Trumpet sent to him, within four days after their
 meeting. The Letter was in these very terms.

They send a
 Letter to the
 Earl of Essex.

My Lord.

“ His Majesty having, by his Proclamation of the
 “ 22^d of *December* (upon the occasion of the Inva-
 “ sion threatened, and in part begun, by some of
 “ his Subjects of *Scotland*) summoned all the Mem-
 “ bers of both Houses of Parliament, to attend him
 “ here at *Oxford*, We whose Names are underwrit-
 “ ten, are here met and assembled, in obedience to
 “ those his Majesty's Commands. His Majesty was
 “ pleased to invite Us, in the said Proclamation, by
 “ these gracious Expressions, that his Subjects should
 “ see, how willing he was to receive Advice, for the
 “ preservation of the Religion, Laws, and Safety of
 “ the Kingdom, and as far as in him lay, to restore it
 “ to it's former Peace and Security (his chief and
 “ only end) from those whom they had trusted;
 “ though he could not receive it in the place where
 “ he appointed. This most gracious Invitation hath
 “ not only been made good unto Us, but seconded,
 “ and heightened by such unquestionable Demon-

“ strations of the deep and Princely sense, which
 “ possesses his Royal heart, of the Miseries, and
 “ Calamities of his poor Subjects in this unnatural
 “ War, and of his most entire and passionate Affec-
 “ tions to redeem them from that sad and deplorable
 “ condition, by all ways possible, consistent either
 “ with his Honor, or with the future Safety of the
 “ Kingdom, that as it were impiety to question the
 “ sincerity of them, so were it great want of duty and
 “ faithfulness in Us (his Majesty having vouchsafed
 “ to declare, that he did call Us to be Witnesses of his
 “ Actions, and Privy to his Intentions) should We
 “ not Testify, and Witness to all the world, the
 “ Assurance We have of the piety and sincerity of
 “ both. We being most entirely satisfied of this truth,
 “ We cannot but confess, that amidst our highest
 “ Afflictions, in the deep and piercing sense of the
 “ present miseries and desolations of our Country,
 “ and those farther dangers threatened from *Scotland*,
 “ We are at length erected to some cheerful and com-
 “ fortable thoughts, that possibly We may yet (by
 “ God’s mercy, if his justice have not determined this
 “ Nation, for it’s Sins, to total ruin and desolation)
 “ hope to be happy Instruments of our Country’s
 “ redemption, from the miseries of War, and restitu-
 “ tion to the blessing of Peace;

“ And We being desirous to believe your Lord-
 “ ship, however engaged, a Person likely to be
 “ sensibly touched with these considerations, have
 “ thought fit to invite you to that part in this blessed
 “ work, which is only capable to repair all our mis-
 “ fortunes, and to buoy up the Kingdom from ruin;

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“ that is, by conjuring you by all the obligations
“ that have power upon Honor, Conscience, or
“ public Piety, that laying to heart, as We do, the
“ inward bleeding condition of your Country, and
“ the outward more menacing destruction by a
“ Foreign Nation, upon the very point of invading
“ it, you will co-operate with Us to it's preservation,
“ by truly representing to, and faithfully and indus-
“ triously promoting with these by whom you are
“ trusted, this following most sincere, and most
“ earnest desire of ours; that they joining with Us in
“ a right sense of the past, present, and more threat-
“ ening Calamities of this deplorable Kingdom,
“ some Persons be appointed on either part, and a
“ place agreed on, to Treat of such a Peace, as may
“ yet redeem it from the Brink of Desolation.

“ This Address We should not have made, but
“ that his Majesty's Summons, by which We are
“ met, most graciously proclaiming Pardon to all
“ without exception, is evidence enough, that his
“ mercy and clemency can transcend all former pro-
“ vocations; and that he hath not only made Us
“ Witnesses of his Princely Intentions, but honored
“ Us also with the Name of being security for them.
“ God Almighty direct your Lordship, and those to
“ whom you shall present these our most real desires,
“ in such a Course as may produce that happy Peace,
“ and Settlement of the present distractions; which
“ is so heartily desired, and prayed for, by Us, and
“ which may make Us,

“ Your, &c.

From Oxford 29th of Jan. 1643.

This Letter was Subscribed by his Highness the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and three-and-forty Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, and one hundred and eighteen Members of the House of Commons; there being such expedition used in the despatch, that it was not thought fit to be deferred for a greater Subscription: Albeit it was known that many Lords and Commoners were upon the way, who came within few days; and there were, at that time, near twenty Peers absent with his Majesty's leave, and employed in his Affairs, and Armies, in the Kingdom; and ten at the same time in the Parts beyond the Seas. So that the Numbers at *London* were very thin; for there were not above two-and-twenty Peers, who either sat in the Parliament, or were engaged in their Party; that is to say, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Essex*, *Kent*, *Lincoln*, *Rutland*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, *Warwick*, *Manchester*, *Mulgrave*, *Denbigh*, *Stamford*, *Bullingbrook*; the Lords *Say*, *Dacres*, *Wharton*, *Grey of Wark*, *Willoughby of Parham*, *Howard of Escrick*, *Rochfort*, and *Robarts*; who were present, or had Proxies there.

The Trumpeter found the Earl of *Essex* at his House in *London*, where he was detained three or four days; during which time, the Committee of both Houses, that Committee which they called the Committee of Safety for the two Kingdoms (the *Scottish* Commissioners being a part of it) resorted to the Earl for his Advice: and in the end, the Trumpeter returned with this short Letter to the Earl of *Forth*, the King's General.

BOOK

My Lord,

VII.
The Earl of
Essex's An-
wer directed
to the Earl of
North with
the two fol-
lowing Decla-
rations.

" I received this day a Letter, of the 29th of this
" instant, from your Lordship, and a Parchment
" Subscribed by the Prince, Duke of *York*, and divers
" other Lords and Gentlemen; but it neither having
" Address to the two Houses of Parliament, nor
" therein, there being any acknowledgment of them,
" I could not communicate it to them. My Lord,
" the maintenance of the Parliament of *England* and
" of the Privileges thereof, is that for which We are
" resolved to spend our Blood; as being the founda-
" tion whereupon all our Laws, and Liberties are
" built. I send your Lordship herewith a National
" Covenant, solemnly entered into by both the King-
" doms of *England* and *Scotland*; and a Declaration
" passed by them both together, with another Decla-
" ration of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, I rest

Your Lordships, &c.

What the Covenant was, being the same particu-
larly set down before, I need not mention; and the
Declarations are as public, and would be thought
too large to be in this place inserted, to the interrup-
tion of the thread of this discourse; yet it cannot be
amiss to make a short Extract of some particular
heads, or conclusions of them; that the world may see
what kind of reasoning this time had introduced, and
that they were as bold with God as with the King.

Extract of
Declara-
tion of the
Kingdom of
Scotland.

That Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
alone, was, to justify their present expedition into *En-
gland*; in which they said, "It was most necessary, that
" every one, against all doubting, should be persuaded
" in his mind of the lawfulness of his Undertaking,

“ and of the goodness of the Cause maintained by him,
 “ which they said was no other, than the good of
 “ Religion in *England*, and the deliverance of their
 “ Brethren out of the depths of Affliction; the pre-
 “ servation of their own Religion, and of Themsel-
 “ ves from the extremity of Misery, and the Safety
 “ of their Native King, and his Kingdoms, from
 “ destruction and desolation. Any one of which (they
 “ said) by all Law divine, and human, was too
 “ just cause of taking of Arms; how much more,
 “ when all of them were joined in one? And there-
 “ fore, they wished any Man, who did withdraw,
 “ and hide himself in such a Debate and Controversy,
 “ to consider, whether he were not a hater of his
 “ Brethren, against Christian and common Charity;
 “ a hater of Himself and his Posterity, against the
 “ law and light of Nature; a hater of the King, and
 “ his Kingdoms, against Loyalty, and common
 “ Duty; and a hater of God, against all Religion,
 “ and Peace.”

They said, “ the Question was not, nor need they
 “ dispute, whether they might propagate their Re-
 “ ligion by Arms; but whether, according to their
 “ power, they ought to assist their Brethren in
 “ *England*, who were calling for their help, and were
 “ shedding their Blood in defence of that power with-
 “ out which Religion could neither be defended, nor
 “ reformed; nor unity of Religion with them, and
 “ other Reformed Kirks, be attained. So that, they
 “ said, the Question was no sooner rightly stated,
 “ but it was as soon resolved; and concluded, *that the*
 “ *Lord would save them from the curse of Meroz, who*
 “ *came not to help the Lord against the Mighty.* They

- B O O K “ said, the Question could not be, as their Enemies
 VII. “ would make it, whether they should enter into
 “ *England*, and lift Arms against their own King,
 “ who had promised and done as much, as might
 “ secure them in their own Religion, and Liberties:
 “ but whether against the Popish, Prelatical, and
 “ Malignant Party, their Adherents prevailing in
 “ *England* and *Ireland*, they were not bound to pro-
 “ vide for their own preservation. That they might
 “ well have known, from their continual experience,
 “ ever since the time of their first Reformation,
 “ especially after the two Kingdoms were united
 “ under one Head and Monarch, and from the Prin-
 “ ciples of their own Declarations, in the time of their
 “ late Troubles and Dangers, that they could not
 “ long, like *Goshen*, enjoy their light, if darkness
 “ should cover the face of other Reformed Kirks:
 “ that *Juda* could not long continue in Liberty, if
 “ *Israel* were led away in Captivity; and that the
 “ condition of the one Kirk and Kingdom, whether
 “ in Religion or Peace, must be common to both.
- “ They said the Question was not, whether they
 “ should presume to be Arbitrators in the matter,
 “ now debated by Fire and Sword, betwixt his
 “ Majesty and the Houses of Parliament; which
 “ might seem to be foreign and extrinsecal to that
 “ Nation, and wherein they might be conceived to
 “ have no Interest; but whether, their Mediation
 “ and Intercession being rejected by the one Side,
 “ upon hope of Victory, or suppose by both Sides,
 “ upon confidence of their own strength and several
 “ Successes, it were not their duty, it being in their
 “ power, to stop or prevent the Effusion of Christian

“ Blood; or whether they ought not to endeavour
 “ to rescue their Native King, his Crown, and Pos-
 “ terity, out of the midst of so many dangers, and
 “ to preserve his People and Kingdom from Ruin
 “ and Destruction. If every private Man were bound
 “ in duty to interpose himself as a Reconciler, and
 “ Sequestrator between his Neighbours, armed to
 “ their mutual Destruction; if the Son ought to
 “ hazard his own Life for the preservation of his
 “ Father and Brother, at Variance one against the
 “ other, should a Kingdom sit still, and suffer their
 “ King and Neighbouring Kingdom to perish in an
 “ unnatural War? In the time of Animosity, and
 “ appetite of Revenge, such an Interposing might
 “ be an irritation; but afterwards, when the Eyes of
 “ the mind, no more Blood-run with Passion, did
 “ discern things right, it would be no grief or offence
 “ of Heart, but matter of Thanksgiving to God,
 “ and to the Instruments which had kept from
 “ shedding Blood, and from Revenge.”

With this kind of Divinity, and this kind of Logic,
 to show that they had a clear prospect of whatever
 could be said against them, they resolved to Invade
 their Neighbour-Nation, and to interpose themselves
 as Reconcilers, by joining against their Native and
 Natural King, with his Rebellious Subjects, in all the
 Acts of Animosity and Blood, which have been ever
 practised in the most raging, and furious Civil War.

The other Declaration, mentioned in the Earl's
 Letter, was a Declaration passed, and published in
 the Name of both Kingdoms, *England and Scotland*,
 after their Marriage by their new League and Cove-
 nant, and about the very time that this very Overture

An Extract
 of the De-
 claration of
 England and
 Scotland.

BOOK VII. for Peace came from *Oxford*. They were now both equally inspired with the *Scotch* Dialect and Spirit; talked, “ how clearly the light of the Gospel shined
 “ amongst them; that they placed not their confidence in their own Counsels and Strength; but
 “ their confidence was in God Almighty. the Lord
 “ of Hosts, who would not leave nor forsake his
 “ People. It was his own Truth and Cause, which
 “ they maintained against the Heresy, Superstition,
 “ and Tyranny of Anti-Christ: the Glory of his
 “ Name, the exaltation of the Kingdom of his Son,
 “ and the preservation of his Church was their aim,
 “ and the end which they had before their Eyes. It
 “ was His Covenant, which they had solemnly in
 “ both Nations Sworn, and Subscribed; which he
 “ would not have put in their hearts to do, if he had
 “ been minded to destroy them. Upon these and the
 “ like grounds, and considerations, being confident
 “ that this War, wherein both Nations were so firmly
 “ united, and deeply engaged, was of God, they
 “ resolve with Courage and Constancy to the end to
 “ do their part; and the Lord who had stirred up
 “ their Spirits, displayed his Banner before them, and
 “ given the Alarm, do that which seemeth him good.
 They gave now “ Public warning to all Men to
 “ rest no longer upon their Neutrality, or to please
 “ themselves with the naughty and slothful pretext
 “ of indifferency; but that they address themselves
 “ speedily to take the Covenant, and join with all
 “ their power, in the Defence of this Cause against
 “ the Common Enemy; and by their Zeal, and forwardness hereafter, to make up what had been
 “ wanting through their Lukewarmness; this they

“ would find to be their greatest Wisdom, and
 “ Safety; otherwise they did declare them to be
 “ Public Enemies to their Religion, and Country;
 “ and that they were to be censured and punished,
 “ as professed Adversaries, and Malignants.

Then they proclaimed “ a Pardon to all those who
 “ would before such a day desert the King, and
 “ adhere to them, and take the Covenant;” and con-
 “ cluded, “ that they made not that Declaration, from
 “ any presumption, or vain glorying in the strength
 “ of their Armies and Forces, but from the sense of
 “ their Duty, which was required and expected from
 “ the high Places, and public Relations, wherein
 “ they stood; and from the Assurance they had of the
 “ Assistance of God, by whose Providence, the trust
 “ and safety of those Kingdoms was put into their
 “ hands at this time; having, after long and grave
 “ Consultation, resolved and decreed never to lay
 “ down Arms, till Truth and Peace, by the blessing
 “ of God, be settled in this Island, upon a firm foun-
 “ dation for the present, and future Generations;
 “ which, they said, should be esteemed of them an
 “ abundant reward of all that they could do, or
 “ suffer in that Cause.”

These were the Declarations which the Earl of
Essex, together with the Covenant, sent, as an Answer
 to that Letter from the Prince of *Wales*, and those
 Lords and Gentlemen; which might have been the
 foundation of an Honest, and Honorable Peace to all
 the King's Dominions. And I cannot but observe,
 that after this time that the Earl declined this oppor-
 tunity of declaring himself, he never did prosperous
 Act in the remainder of his Life; but whereas before,

B O O K he had throughout the Course of his Command, how
VII. unwarrantably soever undertaken, behaved himself with very signal Courage and Conduct, and at this time was adorned with the Testimony of Friends and Enemies, of a right good General, upon the conclusion of the business of *Glocester*; he never, after his taking this Covenant, and writing this Letter, did one Successful thing; but proved Unfortunate in all he went about, even to his Death; of which We shall say more in it's place.

We therather extracted these short Clauses of those two Declarations, that Posterity may observe the Divine hand of Almighty God upon the People of these miserable Kingdoms; that after they had broken loose from that excellent Form and Practice of Religion, which their Ancestors, and Themselves had observed, and enjoyed, with a greater measure of Happiness, than almost any Nation lived under, so long a time; and after they had cancelled, and thrown off those admirable incomparable Laws of Government, which was compounded of so much exact reason, that all possible Mischiefs were foreseen, and provided against by it; they should be now Captivated by a Prophane and Presumptuous entitling themselves to God's Favor, and using his holy Name in that manner, that all sober Christians must stand scandalized, and amazed at; and should be deluded by such a kind of reasoning and debate, as, one would think, could only impose upon Men unmurtered, and unacquainted with any Knowledge or Science.

There wanted not a just indignation at the return of this Trumpet; and yet the Answer being so much in that Popular road, of saying something plausibly

to the People, it was thought fit again to make an attempt, that at least the World might see, that they did, in plain *English*, refuse to admit of any Peace. So the Earl of *Forth* was advised to write again to the other General, for a Safe-Conduct for two Gentlemen then named, against whom no imaginable exception could be taken, to and from *Westminster*, to be sent by his Majesty concerning a Treaty of Peace. To this the Earl of *Essex* returned Answer, "that whensoever he should receive any directions to those who had intrusted him, he should use his best Endeavours; and when a Safe-Conduct should be desired for those Gentlemen, mentioned in his Letter, from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament, his Lordship would, with all cheerfulness, show his willingness to farther any way that might produce that happiness, which all honest Men prayed for; which is a true understanding between his Majesty, and his faithful, and only Council, the Parliament."

This expression of his resolution of interposing, if he had a Letter from his Majesty to the Houses of Parliament (together with some intimation in Letters from *London*, which at these Seasons never wanted) persuaded many, that the Earl wanted only an opportunity to possess the Houses with the Overture, and if it were once within the Walls, there were so many well affected to Peace, that the Proposition would not be rejected; though no particular Person, or Combination of Men, had the Courage, of themselves, to propose it. And therefore at the same time, making all possible preparations for the Field, as the Scene where the differences were like to be decided, his Majesty was prevailed with, though he concluded

B O O K it would be rejected, to send this ensuing Message;
VII. which was enclosed to the Earl of *Essex* to be by him managed.

The King's
 Message to
 both Houses.

“ Out of Our most tender and pious Sense of the sad
 “ and bleeding Condition of this Our Kingdom and
 “ Our unwearied desires to apply all remedies, which
 “ by the blessing of Almighty God, may recover it
 “ from an utter Ruin, by the advice of the Lords
 “ and Commons of Parliament, assembled at *Oxford*,
 “ We do propound, and desire, that a convenient
 “ Number of fit Persons may be appointed, and
 “ authorized by You, to meet, with all convenient
 “ speed, at such place as you shall Nominate, with
 “ an equal Number of fit Persons whom We shall
 “ appoint, and authorize to Treat of the ways and
 “ means to settle the present Distractions of this our
 “ Kingdom, and to procure a happy Peace: And
 “ particularly, how all the Members of both Houses
 “ may securely meet in a full and free Convention of
 “ Parliament, there to Treat, Consult, and agree
 “ upon such things, as may conduce to the maintenance,
 “ and defence of the true Reformed Protestant Religion,
 “ with due consideration to all just, and reasonable ease
 “ of tender Consciences; to the settling and maintaining
 “ of our just Rights and Privileges, of the Rights and
 “ Privileges of Parliament, the Laws of the Land, the
 “ Liberty and Property of the Subject, and all other Expedients,
 “ that may conduce to that blessed end of a firm and
 “ lasting Peace both in Church and State, and a perfect
 “ understanding betwixt Us and our People: wherein no
 “ Endeavours, or Concurrence of Ours
 “ shall

* Shall be wanting: And God direct your hearts in B O O K
 " the way of Peace. " V.I.

Given at Our Court at Oxford, 3d March 1643.

This Message, being signed by his Majesty, was superscribed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*; which, though it was a Style they could not reasonably except against, was yet no other than the Lords and Commons at *Oxford* took upon themselves, as they well might. After two or three debates in the Houses, and with the *Scottish* Commissioners, without whose Concurrence nothing was transacted, this Answer was returned to his Majesty; which put a period to all Men's hopes, who imagined that there might be any disposition in those Councils, to any possible, and honest Accommodation.

May it please your Majesty:

" We the Lords and Commons assembled in the The two Houses Answer:
 " Parliament of *England*, taking into our considera-
 " tion a Letter sent from your Majesty, dated the
 " 3d of *March* instant, and directed to the Lords and
 " Commons of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*
 " (which, by the contents of a Letter from the Earl
 " of *Forth* unto the Lord-General the Earl of *Essex*,
 " We conceive was intended to ourselves) have
 " resolved with the concurrent Advice, and Consent
 " of the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
 " to represent to your Majesty, in all humility and
 " plainness, as followeth: That as We have used all
 " means for a just and safe Peace, so will We never
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“ be wanting to do our utmost for the procuring
 “ thereof; but when We consider the expressions in
 “ that Letter of your Majesty’s, We have more sad
 “ and despairing thoughts of attaining the same than
 “ ever, because thereby, those Persons now assem-
 “ bled at *Oxford*, who, contrary to their duty, have
 “ deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal
 “ condition with it. And this present Parliament,
 “ convened according to known and fundamental
 “ Laws of the Kingdom (the continuance whereof is
 “ established by a Law consented to by your Ma-
 “ jesty) is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the
 “ scope and intention of that Letter being to make
 “ provision how all the Members, as is pretended, of
 “ both Houses may securely meet in a full and free
 “ Convention of Parliament; whereof no other con-
 “ clusion can be made, but that this present Parlia-
 “ ment is not a full, nor free Convention: and that to
 “ make it a full and free Convention of Parliament,
 “ the presence of those is necessary, who notwith-
 “ standing that they have deserted the great Trust,
 “ and do levy War against the Parliament, are pre-
 “ tended to be Members of the two Houses of
 “ Parliament.

“ And hereupon We think ourselves bound to let
 “ your Majesty know, that seeing the continuance
 “ of this Parliament is settled by a Law, which (as all
 “ other Laws of your Kingdom) your Majesty hath
 “ sworn to maintain, as We are sworn to our Alle-
 “ giance to your Majesty (these obligations being
 “ reciprocal) We must in duty, and accordingly are
 “ resolved, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend

“ and preserve the just Rights and full power of this
 “ Parliament; and do beseech your Majesty to be
 “ assured, that your Majesty’s Royal and hearty con-
 “ currence with Us herein, will be the most effectual
 “ and ready means of procuring a firm and lasting
 “ Peace in all your Majesty’s Dominions, and beget-
 “ ting a perfect Understanding between your Ma-
 “ jesty and your People: Without which, your
 “ Majesty’s most earnest professions, and our most
 “ real Intentions concerning the same, must necessa-
 “ rily be frustrated. And in case your Majesty’s three
 “ Kingdoms should, by reason thereof, remain in this
 “ sad and bleeding condition, tending, by the con-
 “ tinuance of this unnatural War, to their ruin, your
 “ Majesty cannot be the least, nor the last Sufferer.
 “ God in his goodness incline your Royal breast, out
 “ of pity and compassion to those deep sufferings of
 “ your innocent People, to put a speedy and happy
 “ Issue to these desperate evils, by the joint advice of
 “ both your Kingdoms, now happily united in this
 “ Cause by their late solemn League and Covenant;
 “ which as it will prove the surest remedy, so it is the
 “ earnest prayer of your Majesty’s loving Subjects,
 “ the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parlia-
 “ ment of *England*. ”

Grey of Warke,

Speaker of the House of Peers in Parliament

Westminster the
9th of Mar. 1643.

[pro tempore;

William Lenthall,

Speaker of the House of Commons in Parliament.

BOOK

VII

Means agreed
upon by the
Lords and
Commons at
Oxford to
raise Money.

The hope of Peace, by this kind of interposition, did not in any degree make the Counsels remiss for the providing of Money to supply the Army: Upon which they had more hope than from a Treaty. But the Expedients for Money were not easily thought on; though there was a considerable part of the Kingdom within the King's Quarters, the Inhabitants were frequently robbed, and plundered by the Incursions of the Enemy, and not very well secured against the Royal Troops, who began to practise all the Licence of War. The Nobility, and Gentry, who were not Officers of the Army, lived for the most part in Oxford, and all that they could draw from their Estates, was but enough for their own Subsistence; they durst not enter upon charging the People in general, lest they should be thought to take upon them to be a Parliament; and their care was, that the Common-People might be preserved from Burdens; and they were as careful not to expose the King's Honor, or Name, to affronts and refusals; but were willing that the Envy and Clamor, if there should be any, should fall upon Themselves.

They appointed all the Members of the Commons, to go in the Names of all the Gentlemen of Estate, and other Persons who were reputed to be such, within their several precincts; and what Sum of Money every Body might be well able to supply the King with, in this exigent of the public State." And then a form of a Letter was conceived, which should be sent to every one of them, for such a Sum; the Letter to be Subscribed by the two Speakers of the Houses, to the end that the People might know,

“ that it was by the advice of the Members of Parliament assembled there; which was as much the advice of Parliament, as could be delivered at that time in the Kingdom.” When the way and method of this was approved by the Lords, and his Majesty likewise consented to it; they begun, the better to encourage others, with Themselves; and caused Letters to be signed and delivered to the several Members of both Houses, for such Sums as they were well disposed to furnish; which were to that proportion as gave good Encouragement to others; and the like Letters to all Persons of condition who were in the Town. And by this means, there was a Sum raised in ready Money, and Credit, that did supply many necessary occasions, near the Sum of one hundred thousand pounds, whereof some came in every day, to enable the King to provide for the next Campaigne; which, the Spring coming on, was to be expected early; the Parliament at *Westminster* having raised vast Sums of Money, and being like to bring many Armies into the Field. All, who were to furnish Money upon these Letters, had liberty to bring, or send it in Plate, if that was for their convenience; the King having called the Officers and Workmen of his Mint to *Oxford*, who Coined such Plate as was brought in; his Majesty likewise made a Grant of some Forests, Parks, and other Lands, to certain Persons in Trust, for the raising of such Money as should be borrowed of those Persons who should be bound for the payment of such Money; and by this means likewise many considerable Sums of Money were procured,

B O O K and Clothes, and Shoes, and Shirts, were provided
VII. for the Army.

The two Houses at *Westminster*, who called themselves, and they are often called in this discourse, the Parliament, had at this time by an Ordinance, that is an Order of both Houses, laid an imposition, which they called an Excise, upon Wine, Beer, Ale, and many other Commodities, to be paid in the manner very punctually and methodically set down by them, for the carrying on the War. This was the first time, that ever the Name of payment of Excise was heard of, or practised in *England*; laid on by those who pretended to be most jealous of any exaction upon the People: and this Pattern being then printed, and published at *London*, was thought by the Members at *Oxford*, as a good Expedient to be followed by the King; and thereupon it was settled, and to be governed, and regulated by Commissioners, in the same Method it was done at *London*. And in *Oxford*, *Bristol*, and other Garrisons, it did yield a reasonable supply for the Provisions of Arms and Ammunition; which, for the most part, it was assigned to; both sides making ample Declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, “that it should be continued no longer than to the
 “end of the War, and then laid down, and utterly
 “abolished;” which few wise Men believed it would ever be.

The high and insolent proceedings at *Westminster*, made no impression at *Oxford* towards the shaking the Allegiance, and Courage of those whom his Majesty had called to advise him. But when they found

The two
Houses at
Westminster
impose an
Excise.

The two
Houses at
Oxford follow
the Example

the temper of the other so much, above belief, averse to Peace, and intending utter ruin to the King, the Church, and all who should continue true *English-Men* and Subjects, they resolved as frankly to declare their Resolutions, that the People might see the Issue they were at; and therefore they published a Declaration of the Grounds and Motives which had forced them to leave the Parliament at *Westminster*; in which they mentioned "all the indirect passages, and the "Acts of Violence, by which they had been driven "thence; and the obligations upon them in Conscience, and Law, to adhere to his Majesty; and "the misery which the other Party had already "brought upon the Kingdom, and the desolation "which must inevitably follow these conclusions: and with a greater Unanimity and Consent, than was ever known in so great a Council, where there were so many Persons of Honor, and Judges, and others Learned in the Law, among whom there was scarce one dissenting Voice, they declared,

B O O K
VII.

The Substance
of the Declara-
tion of the
Lords and
Commons at
Oxford.

1. "That all such Subjects of *Scotland*, as had consented to the Declaration, entitled the Declaration of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concerning the present Expedition into *England*, had thereby denounced War against the Kingdom of *England*, and broke the Act of Pacification.

2. "That all his Majesty's Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, are both by their Allegiance, and the Act of Pacification, bound to resist and repress all those of *Scotland* as had, or should enter upon any part of his Majesty's Realm and Dominions, as Traytors, and Enemies

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“ to the State; and that whosoever should Abet,
“ Aid, or Assist the *Scots* in their Invasion, should be
“ deemed as Traytors and Enemies to the State.

3. “ That the Lords and Commons remaining at
“ *Westminster*, that had given their Votes, or Con-
“ sent, to the raising of Forces under the Command
“ of the Earl of *Essex*, or had been Abetting, Aiding,
“ or Assisting thereunto, had levied and raised War
“ against the King, and were therein guilty of High-
“ Treason.”

4. “ That those Lords and Commons remaining at
“ *Westminster*, that had given their Votes and Con-
“ sents for the making and using a new Great-Seal,
“ had thereby Counterfeited the King’s Great-Seal,
“ and therein committed High-Treason.

5. “ That the Lords and Commons remaining at
“ *Westminster*, who had given their Consents to the
“ present coming in of the *Scots* in a Warlike manner,
“ had therein committed High-Treason: and that in
“ these three last Crimes, they had broken the Trust
“ reposed in them by their Country, and ought to be
“ proceeded against as Traytors to the King, and
“ Kingdom.”

So that the Engagements seemed fuller of Ani-
mosity on both sides, than ever; and the King ex-
ceedingly strengthened by the Lords and Commons
having more positively and concernedly wedded
his Cause, than they were before understood to
have done; and in truth, in the Civil Counsels,
nothing was left undone to give it all imaginable
Advancement.

It had been very happy for the King, if the Winter

had been spent only in those Counsels which might have provided Money, and facilitated the making his Army ready to take the Field in the Spring; when he was sure to have occasion enough to use it, and to be in great distress, if it should not be then in a condition to march; but the Invasion, which the *Scots* made in the depth of Winter, and the Courage the Enemy took from thence, deprived his Majesty even of any rest in that Season. Upon the *Scots* unexpected march into *England* in *January*, in a most violent Frost and Snow, hoping to reach *New-Castle* before it could be Fortified, and persuading their Common-Soldiers, that it would be delivered to them as soon as required; thither the vigilant Sir *Thomas Glemham* had been before sent to attend their coming, and the Marquis of *New-Castle* with his Army, upon the fame of their Invasion, marched thither with a resolution to fight with them before they should be able to join with the *English* Rebels; leaving in the mean time the Command of *York*, and the Forces for the guard of that County, to Colonel *John-Bellasis*, Son to the Lord-*Falconbridge*, a Person of great Interest in the Country, and of exemplary Industry and Courage. But by this means, and the remove of the Marquis with his Army so far North, the Enemy grew to a great strength in those Parts; and not only able to disquiet *Yorkshire*, but drawing a great Body of Horse and Foot out of *Derbyshire*, *Staffordshire*, and *Lincolnshire*, sat down before his Majesty's Garrison of *Newark* upon *Trent*, with a full confidence to take it; and so to cut off all correspondence between his Majesty, and the Marquis of *New-Castle*. And Sir *Thomas*

B O O K
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The Marquis
of New-Castle
marches to
oppose the
Scots.

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Sir Thomas
Fairfax De-
feats and takes
Col Bellasis
at Selby.

Whereupon
the Marquis
of New-Castle
retires to
York.

The Marquis
of Ormond
made Lord-
Lieutenant of
Ireland, sends
the King
Assistance.

Fairfax from *Hull*, in the head of a strong Party, had fallen upon a Quarter not far from *York*, Commanded by Colonel *John Bellasis* at *Selby*, and had totally Defeated it, taken the Cannon, and many Officers Prisoners, and amongst those the Colonel himself. This was the first Action for which Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was taken Notice of; who in a short time grew the supreme General under the Parliament. This Defeat, which was great in itself, was made much greater by the terrible apprehensions the City of *York* had upon it; insomuch that the Marquis of *New-Castle*, who till then had kept the *Scots* at a Bay, found it necessary to withdraw his Army, and with great part of it to make haste into *York*, to prevent any farther mischief there; by which means the *Scots* were at liberty to advance as they pleased; and *Fairfax* improved his reputation by a speedy, and unlooked for march into *Cheshire*.

Upon the Cessation in *Ireland*, the King made the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and appointed him to make use of the Winter-Season (when the Parliaments Ships could not attend that Coast) to transport those Regiments of Foot which might be well spared during the Cessation, and which could not be supported there, to *Chester*; from whence his Majesty could easily draw them in the Spring to *Oxford*; and were, in truth, the principal Recruit, upon which he depended to enable him to take the Field. The Lord *Byron* then Commanded *Chester*, and that County; and was appointed to take care for the reception, and accommodation of those Troops; which was a right good Body of Foot, and being excellent Men, both Officers and Soldiers,

carried great terror with them from the time of their Landing; and quickly freed North *Wales* from the Enemy; who at that time begun to have great power there. It was towards the end of *November* when they Landed, and being a People who had been used to little ease in *Ireland*, the King having given the Lord *Byron* leave to employ them in such Services as might secure that Country, the Season of the year made little impression on them; they were always ready, and desirous of Action; and in the space of a Month reduced, by Assault and Storm, many places of notable importance, as *Howarden-Castle*, *Beefton-Castle*, *Crew-House*, and other places of strength; and encountering the whole Body of the Rebels, at *Middlewich* in *Cheeshire*, Broke and Defeated them with great Slaughter; and drove all that Survived, and were at Liberty, into *Nantwich*; the single Garrison they had then left in *Cheeshire*: into which the whole Party was retired, and which had been Fortified and Garrisoned from the beginning of the Troubles, as the only refuge for the disaffected in that County, and the Counties adjacent. The Pride of the late Success, and the Terror the Soldiers believed their Names carried with them, carried them at this most unseasonable time of the year thither: for it was about the first week in *January* when the Lord *Byron* came with his Army before the Town, and Summoned it. It cannot be denied the reducing of that place at that time would have been of unspeakable importance to the King's Affairs, there being, between that and *Carlisle*, no one Town of Moment (*Manchester* only excepted) which declared against the King; and those two

B O O K populous Counties of *Chester*, and *Lancashire*, if they
VII. had been united against the Parliament, would have been a strong Bulwark against the *Scots*.

These considerations, and an opinion that the Town would yield as soon as Summoned, brought the Army first thither; and then a passionate desire of Honor, and Contempt of the Enemy within, or of any other who could undertake their relief, engaged them to a farther attempt; and so they raised Batteries, and undertook a formal Siege against the Town. The seventeenth day of *January* they made a general Assault upon five several Quarters of the Town, somewhat before day-break, but were with equal Courage opposed from within, and near three hundred Men lost, or wounded in the Service; which should have prevailed with them to have quitted their design. But those repulses sharpen, rather than abate the edge and appetite to danger; and the Assailants, no less than the Besieged, desiring an Army would come for their relief, both with equal impatience longed for the same thing; the *Irish* (for under that name, for distinction sake, we call that Body of Foot, though there was not an *Irish*-Man amongst them) supposing themselves Superior to any that would encounter them in the Field, and the Horse being such as might as reasonably undervalue those who were to oppose them.

The Irish
 Forces routed
 by Sir Thomas
 Fairfax at
 Nantwich.

In this their confidence, supply came too soon to the Town, and confusion to the King's Forces: For Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, upon his Victory at *Seiby*, brought out of *Yorkshire*, a good Body of Horse to *Manchester*; and, out of that place, and the neigh-

bour-places, drew near three thousand Foot, with which joining with Sir *William Bruerton*, and some other scatered Force from *Staffordshire*, and *Derby*, who had been Routed at *Middlewich*, he advanced near *Nantwich*. before he was looked for; the *Irish* being so over-confident that he would not presume to attack them, that, though they had Advertisement of their motion, they still believed that his utmost design was by Alarms to force them to rise from the Town, and then to retire without fighting with them. This made them keep their Posts too long; and when they found it necessary to draw off, a little River, which divided their Forces, on a sudden thaw, so much swelled above it's Banks, that the Lord *Byron*, with the greatest part of the Horse, and the Foot which lay on one side of the Town, were severed from the rest, and compelled to march four or five miles, before he could join with the other; before which time the other part, being Charged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* on the one side, and From the Town on the other, were broken; and all the Chief-Officers forced to retire to a Church called *Acton-Church*, where they were caught as in a Trap, and the Horse, by reason of the deep ways with the sudden thaw, and narrow Lanes, and great Hedges, not being able to relieve them, were compelled to yield themselves Prisoners to those whom they so much despised two hours before. There were taken, besides all the Chief and Considerable Officers of Foot, near fifteen hundred Soldiers, and all their Cannon, and Carriages: the Lord *Byron* with his Horse, and the rest of his Foot, retiring to *Chester*. There cannot be given a

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better, or it may be another reason for this Defeat ; besides the Providence of God, which was the effect of the other , than the extreme contempt and disdain this Body had of the Enemy ; and the presumption in their own Strength, Courage, and Conduct ; which made them not enough think, and rely upon Him who alone disposes of the event of Battles : though it must be acknowledged, most of the Officers were Persons of signal Virtue, and Sobriety ; and, in their own Natures , of great Modesty and Piety ; so hard it is to suppress those motions, which Success, Valor, and even the Conscience of the Cause , is apt to produce in Men not over-much inclined to presumption.

There was another result of Council at *Oxford*, in this Winter-Season, which deserves to be mentioned ; and the rather, because all the inducements thereunto were not generally understood, nor known to many ; and therefore grew afterwards to be the more censured. When the *Scots* were visibly Armed, and upon their march into *England*, which the King was the last Man in believing ; and when there was no way to stop, or divert them, his Majesty was the better inclined to hearken to some Men of that Nation, who had been long proposing a way to give them so much trouble at home, that they should not be at leisure to infest or trouble their Neighbours ; to which Propositions less care had been given, out of too much confidence in Persons, upon whose integrity or interest there had been too great a dependance. The Earl of *Mountrose*, a young Man of a great Spirit, and of the most ancient Nobility, had been one of the most principal and active Covenanters in the begin-

The Earl of
Mountrose
comes to the
King, and

ning of the Troubles; but soon after, upon his observation of the unwarrantable prosecution of it, he gave over that Party, and his Command in that Army; and at the King's being in *Scotland*, after the pacification, had made full tender of his Service to his Majesty; and was so much in the jealousy, and detestation of the violent Party, whereof the Earl of *Argyle* was the Head, that there was no cause or room left to doubt his sincerity to the King.

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informs him
of the state of
Scotland.

Upon the beginning of the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, and the manifestation that Duke *Hamilton* would give no opposition to the proceedings thereof (as hath been mentioned before) the Earl privately withdrew out of *Scotland*, and came to the King few days before the Siege was raised from *Glocester*, and gave his Majesty the first clear information of the carriage and behaviour of Duke *Hamilton*, and of the posture that Kingdom would speedily be in, and of the resolutions that would be there taken; and made some smart Propositions to the King for the remedy; which there was not then time to consult; but as soon as the King retired to *Oxford*, after the Battle of *Newbury*, and had had fuller Intelligence, by the resort of others of that Nobility who deserved to be trusted, how the Affairs stood in *Scotland*; and heard that Duke *Hamilton*, and his Brother, the Earl of *Lanrick*, were upon their way as far as *York* towards *Oxford*; his Majesty was very willing to hearken to the Earl of *Mountrose*, and the rest, what could be done to prevent that mischief that was like to ensue. But they all unanimously declared, "that they durst
" make no Propositions for the advancement of the

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“ King’s Service. except they might be first assured,
 “ that no part of it should be communicated to Duke
 “ *Hamilton*; nor He suffered to have any part or share
 “ in any Action that should depend upon it; for they
 “ were most assured, that he had always betrayed his
 “ Majesty; and that it had been absolutely in his
 “ power, to have prevented this new Combination,
 “ if he would resolutely have opposed it. But if they
 “ might be secure in that particular, they would
 “ make some such attempt under his Majesty’s Com-
 “ mission in their own Country, as might possibly
 “ make some disturbance there.” His Majesty thought
 he had much less reason to be confident of the Duke
 than formerly; for he had expressly failed of doing
 somewhat which he had promised to do; yet he
 thought, he had not ground enough to withdraw all
 kind of Trust from him, except he did, at the same
 time, secure him from being able to do him farther
 mischief; towards which kind of severity, he did not
 think he had evidence enough. Besides he had a very
 good opinion of the Earl of *Lanrick*, as a Man of much
 more plainness and sincerity, than his Brother; as in
 truth he was. That he might bring himself to a full
 resolution in this important Affair, his Majesty ap-
 pointed the Lord Keeper, his two Secretaries, the
 Master of the Rolls, and the Chancellor of the Ex-
 chequer, to examine the Earl of *Mountrose*, the Earl
 of *Kinnoul*, the Lord *Ogilby*, and some others, upon
 Oath, of all things they could accuse Duke *Hamilton*,
 or his Brother *Lanrick* of; and to take their Exami-
 nations in writing; that so his Majesty might dis-
 cover, whether their Errors proceeded from inidelity,
 and

and consider the better, what Course to observe in his proceedings with them ; and this was carried with as much secrecy , as an Affair of that Nature could be , wherein so many were trusted. BOOK
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Upon their Examination, there appeared too much cause to conclude , that the Duke had not behaved himself with that Loyalty , as he ought to have done. The Earl of *Mountrose* , whilst he had been of that Party , had been privy to much of his Correspondence , and Intelligence. But most of the particulars related to the time when he Commanded the Fleet in the *Frith* , and when he had many Conferences with his Mother (who was a Woman most passionate in those contrivances) and with others of that Party ; and when he did nothing to hurt , or incommode the Enemy ; all which was expressly pardoned by the Act of Oblivion , which had been passed with all formality and solemnity by the King in the Parliament of both Kingdoms : And , so much as to question what was so forgot , might raise a greater fire , than that which they desired to quench ; though the knowing so many particulars might be a good and proper caution. In the late transactions of *Scotland* , it was manifest that the Duke had absolutely opposed all Overtures of force , and of seizing those Persons who could only be able to raise new Troubles ; which had been very easy to have done ; and that he had betrayed the King , and all the Lords , in consenting to the meeting of the Parliament , called and summoned against the King's express Pleasure and Command , and without any pretence of Law. And to this , the King's Approbation and Consent had been showed

B O O K to them, by the Duke, under the King's own hand;
VII. which they durst not disobey, though they foresaw the mischief.

The Case was thus; the Duke had given the King an account, after he had himself promised him that the Parliament should never be assembled (which his Majesty abhorred) "that though some few hot, and
 " passionate Men desired to put themselves in Arms,
 " to stop both Elections of the Members and any
 " meeting together in Parliament; yet, that all sober
 " Men who could bear any considerable part in the
 " Action, were clearly of the opinion, to take as
 " much pains as they could to cause good Elections
 " to be made, and then to appear themselves; and
 " that they had hope to have such a Major part, that
 " they might more advantageously dissolve the
 " Meeting as soon as they came together, than pre-
 " vent it; however, that Then would be the fit time
 " to protest against it, and immediately to put them-
 " selves into Arms, for which they would be well
 " provided at the same time;" and to this he desired the King's positive direction. And his Majesty, in Answer to it, had said, "since it was the opinion of
 " all his Friends, he would not Command them to
 " do that which was against their Judgment; but
 " would attend the Success; and was content that
 " they should all appear in the Parliament at it's first
 " meeting:" and the Duke had showed the Lords those words in the King's Letter, with which they acquiesced, without knowing any thing of the ground of such his permission: whereas, in truth, there was no one Person who was of that opinion, or had given

that Counsel, but had still detested the Expedient when proposed.

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Then the Duke's Carriage in the Parliament, and his Brother's, at their first coming together, appeared to be as is set down before, by the Testimony of those who were present; and the Earl of *Lanrick's* applying the Signet to the Proclamation for that Rendezvous where the Army was to be compounded, was not thought capable of any excuse; and so the clear state of the Evidence, upon the Depositions of the Persons examined, was presented to the King for his own determination. His Majesty had some thoughts of sending to the Marquis of *New-Castle* to stop the Duke and his Brother at *York*, and not suffer them to come nearer; but whilst that was in deliberation, they both came to *Oxford*, and meant the same Night to have kissed their Majesties hands; but as soon as they arrived, they received a Command from the King, "to keep their Chambers; and had a Guard attended them." The King resolved to consult the whole Affair then with the Council-Board, whereas, hitherto the Examinations had been taken by a Committee, to the end that he might resolve what way to proceed; and to that purpose directed that a Transcript might be prepared, of all the Examinations at large; and that the Witnesses might be ready to appear before the Board, if it should be thought necessary: His Majesty at that time inclining to have both the Lords present, and the Depositions read, and the Witnesses confronted before them. But whilst this was preparing, the second Morning after their coming to the Town, the Earl of *Lanrick*,

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either having corrupted or deluded the Guard, found a means to escape; and by the assistance of one *Cunningham* (a Gentleman of the Privy-Chamber, and of that Nation) had Horses ready; with which the Earl and his Friend fled and went directly to *London*; where he was very well received. Hereupon the King informed the Board of the whole Affair; and because one of them was escaped, and the matters against the other having been transacted in *Scotland*, and so, in many respects, it was not a Season to proceed judicially against him, it was thought enough for the present to prevent his doing farther Mischief, by putting him under a secure restraint: and so he was sent in Custody to the Castle at *Bristol*, and from thence to *Exeter*, and so to the Castle at *Pendennis* in *Cornwal*; where We shall at the present leave him.

Duke Hamil-
ton made
Prisoner at
Oxford.

Mr. Pym's
death.

About this time the Councils at *Westminster* lost a principal Supporter, by the death of *Jo. Pym*: who died with great Torment and Agony of a Disease unusual, and therefore the more spoken of, *Morbus pediculofus*, as was reported; which rendered him an Object very Loathsome to those who had been most delighted with him. No Man had more to answer for the Miseries of the Kingdom, or had his Hand, or Head, deeper in their Contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher even in his Life, than he designed. He was a Man of a private Quality and Condition of Life; his Education in the Office of the *Exchequer*, where he had been a Clerk; and his Parts rather acquired by Industry, than supplied by Nature, or adorned by Art. He had been well known in former Parliaments; and was one of those few, who had

sat in many; the long intermission of Parliaments having worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the Rules, and Orders observed in those Conventions. This gave him some reputation, and reverence amongst those who were but now introduced.

He had been most taken notice of, for being concerned and passionate in the jealousies of Religion, and much troubled with the countenance which had been given to those Opinions that had been imputed to *Arminius*; and this gave him great Authority and Interest with those who were not pleased with the Government of the Church, or the growing power of the Clergy: yet himself industriously took care to be believed, and he professed to be very entire to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*. In the short Parliament before this, he spoke much, and appeared to be the most leading Man; for besides the exact knowledge of the Forms, and Orders of that Council, which few Men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural, and proper; and understood the Temper and Affections of the Kingdom as well as any Man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in Government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. After the unhappy Dissolution of that Parliament, he continued for the most part about *London*, in Conversation and great Repute amongst those Lords who were most strangers to the Court, and were believed most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies, and discontents towards the

B O O K State; and as soon as this Parliament was resolved to
VII. be summoned, he was as diligent to procure such Persons to be elected as he knew to be most inclined to the way he meant to take.

At the first opening of this Parliament, he appeared passionate and prepared against the Earl of *Strafford*; and though in private designing he was much governed by Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Saint-John*, yet he seemed to all Men to have the greatest Influence upon the House of Commons of any Man; and, in truth, I think he was at that time, and some Months after, the most popular Man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time. Upon the first design of *suborning*, and obliging the powerful Persons in both Houses, when it was resolved to make the Earl of *Bedford* Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, the King likewise intended to make Mr. *Pym* Chancellor of the Exchequer; for which he received his Majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpnets in the House, which was more Popular than any Man's, and made some Overtures to provide for the Glory and Splendor of the Crown; in which he had so ill success, that his Interest and Reputation there, visibly abated; and he found that he was much better able to do Hurt than Good; which wrought very much upon him to Melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the People's Affections, and Inclinations. In the end, whether, upon the death of the Earl of *Bedford*, he despaired of that preferment, or whether he was

guilty of any thing, which, upon his Conversion to the Court, he thought might be discovered to his damage, or for pure want of Courage, he suffered himself to be carried by those who would not follow Him, and so continued in the head of those who made the most desperate Propositions.

In the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*, his Carriage and Language was such as expressed much personal Animosity; and he was accused of having practised some Arts in it not worthy a good Man; as an *Irish* Man of very mean and low condition afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him, as an Evidence of one part of the Charge against the Lord-Lieutenant, in a particular of which a Person of so vile Quality would not be reasonably thought a competent Informer; Mr. *Pym* gave him Money to buy him a Satin Suit and Cloak; in which Equipage he appeared at the Trial, and gave his Evidence; which if true, may make many other things which were confidently reported afterwards of him, to be believed; as that he received a great Sum of Money from the *French* Ambassador (which hath been before mentioned) to hinder the Transportation of those Regiments of *Ireland* into *Flanders*, upon the disbanding that Army there; which had been prepared by the Earl of *Strafford* for the business of *Scotland*; in which if his Majesty's directions and commands had not been diverted, and contradicted, by the Houses, many do believe the Rebellion in *Ireland* had not happened.

Certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good Offices

B O O K for particular Persons ; and that he did preserve many
VII. from censure, who were under the severe displeasure of the Houses, and looked upon as eminent Delinquents; and the Quality of many of them made it believed, that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations. From the time of his being accused of High-Treason by the King, with the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the other Members, he never entertained thoughts of moderation, but always opposed all Overtures of Peace, and Accommodation; and when the Earl of *Essex* was disposed, the last Summer, by those Lords to an inclination towards a Treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. *Pym*'s power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper, which he afterwards swerved not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the *Scots* coming in to their Assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great, that it might well have made another impression upon his mind. During his sickness, he was a very sad Spectacle; but none being admitted to him who had not concurred with him, it is not known what his last thoughts, and considerations were. He died towards the end of *December*, before the *Scots* entered; and was buried with wonderful Pomp and Magnificence, in that place where the Bones of our *English* Kings and Princes are committed to their rest.

The Prince
 Flestor Ar-
 ves at
 ondon.

The Arrival of the Prince Flestor at *London* was no less the discourse of all Tongues, than the death of Mr. *Pym*. He had been in *England* before the Troubles, and was received and cherished by the King with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and

supplied with a Pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the King left *London*, he attended his Majesty to *York*, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high, that his Majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an Army for his Defence. Then, on the sudden, without giving the King many days notice of his resolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary Vessel, embarked himself for *Holland*, to the wonder of all Men; who thought it an unreasonable Declaration of his fear at least of the Parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident They esteemed not the King as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterwards known that the Parliament expressed a good Sense of his having deserted the King, and imputed it to his Conscience, “that he knew of some such “ designs of his Majesty, as he could not comply “ with.” At this time, after many loud discourses of his coming (which were derived to *Oxford*, as somewhat that might have an Influence upon his Majesty’s Counsels, there being then several whispers of some high proceedings they intended against the King) he arrived at *London*, and was received with Ceremony; Lodged in *White-Hall*, and Order taken for the payment of that Pension which had been formerly assigned to him by his Majesty; and a particular direction by both Houses, “that he should be admitted to sit in the Assembly of Divines;” where, after he had taken the Covenant, he was contented to be often present: of all which the King took no other notice, than sometimes to express, “that he was sorry

B O O K “ on his Nephew’s behalf, that he thought fit to
 VII. “ declare such a compliance.”

The Defeat of Colonel *John Bellasis* at *Selby* by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the destruction of all the *Irish* Regiments under the Lord-*Byron*, together with the terror of the *Scottish* Army, had so let loose all the King’s Enemies in the Northern parts, which were lately at the King’s Devotion, that his Friends were in great distress in all places before the Season was ripe to take the Field. The Earl of *Derby*, who had kept *Lancashire* in reasonable Subjection, and inclosed all the Enemies of that County within the Town of *Manchester*, was no longer able to continue that restraint, but forced to place himself at a farther distance from them; which was like, in a short time, to increase the Number of the Rebels there. *Newark*, a very necessary Garrison in the County of *Nottingham*, which had not only subjected that little County, the Town of *Nottingham* only excepted, which was upon the matter confined within it’s own Walls, but had kept a great part of the large County of *Lincoln* under contribution, was now reduced to so great straits by the Forces of that County, under the Command of *Meidrum* a *Scotch*-man, with addition of others from *Hull*, that they were compelled to beg relief from the King at *Oxford*; whilst the Marquis of *New-Castle* had enough to do to keep the *Scots* at a Bay, and to put *York* in a condition to endure a Siege, if he should be forced to continue within those Walls.

In these straits, though it was yet the depth of Winter, and to provide the better for the security of *Shrewsbury*, and *Chester*, and North-*Wales*, all which

were terrified with the Defeat of the Lord *Byron*, the King found it necessary to send Prince *Rupert*, with a good Body of chosen Horse, and Dragoons, and some Foot, with direction, after he had visited *Shrewsbury* and *Chester*, and used all possible Endeavours to make new Levies, that he should attempt the relief of *Newark*: which being lost, would cut off all possible Communication between *Oxford* and *York*. In *Newark*, the Garrison consisted most of the Gentry of the Country, and the Inhabitants, ill supplied with any thing requisite to a Siege, but Courage and excellent Affections. The Enemy intrenched themselves before the Town, and proceeded by approach; conceiving they had time enough, and not apprehending it possible to be disturbed: and indeed it was not easy for the King to find a way for their relief. To send a Body from *Oxford* was very hazardous, and the Enemy so strong, as they would quickly follow; so that there was no hope but from *Shrewsbury*, and *Chester*, where Prince *Rupert* had given so much life to those parts, and drawn so considerable a Body together, that the Enemy found little advantage by their late Victory, in the enlargement of their Quarters. His Highness then resolved to try what he could do for *Newark*, and undertook it before he was ready for it, and thereby performed it. For the Enemy, who had always excellent Intelligence, was so confident that he had not a strength sufficient to attempt that work, that he was within six miles of them, before they believed he thought of them; and Charging and Routing some of their Horse, pursued them with that expedition, that he Besieged them in their own

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Prince Rupert is sent to relieve Newark, and effects it.

B O O K Intrenchment, with his Horse, before his Foot came
VII. within four miles. In that consternation, they concluding that he must have a vast power and strength, to bring them into those straits, He, with a Number inferior to the Enemy, and utterly unaccommodated for an Action of time, brought them to accept of leave to depart, that is to disband, without their Arms, or any Carriage or Baggage. Thus he relieved *Newark*, and took above four thousand Arms, eleven pieces of Brass-Cannon, two Mortar-pieces, and above fifty Barrels of Powder; which was as unexpected a Victory, as any happened throughout the War; with this prosperous Action, which was performed on the 22^d of *March*, We shall conclude the Transactions of this Year.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K V I I I.

2 Efd. v. 9.

And salt-waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall Wit hide itself, and Understanding withdraw itself into his secret Chamber.

If. III. 5.

And the People shall be oppressed every one by another, and every one by his Neighbour; the Child shall behave himself proudly against the Ancient, and the Base against the Honorable.

AS the Winter had been very unprosperous, and unsuccessful to the King, in the diminution and loss of those Forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the Enemy the year ensuing; so the Spring entered with no better presage. When both Armies had entered into their Winter-Quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at *London*, and the same of sending Sir *William Waller* into the West, put the King upon the resolution of having such a Body in

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his way, as might give him interruption, without Prince *Maurice's* being disturbed in his Siege of *Plymouth*; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the Lord *Hopton* was appointed to Command an Army apart, to be levied out of the Garrison of *Bristol*, and those Western Counties adjacent newly reduced; where his Reputation and Interest was very great; and by it he had in a short time raised a pretty Body of Foot and Horse; to which receiving an Addition of two very good Regiments (though not many in Number) out of *Munster*, under the Command of Sir *Charles Vavasour*, and Sir *John Pawlet*, and a good Troop of Horse under the Command of Captain *Bridges*, all which had been transported, according to former Orders, out of *Ireland* to *Bristol*, since the Cessation, that Lord advanced to *Salisbury*, and shortly after to *Winchester*; whither Sir *John Berkeley* brought him two Regiments more of Foot, raised by him in *Devonshire*; so that he had in all, at least, threethousand Foot, and about fifteen hundred Horse; which, in so good a Post as *Winchester* was, would in a short time have grown to a considerable Army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended *Waller* in his Western Expedition; nor did He expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his March, and was informed of the Lord *Hopton's* being at *Winchester* with such a strength, he retired to *Farnham*; and Quartered there, till he gave his Masters an Account that he wanted other Supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation

of that time, that the Party, in all places, that wished well to the King (which consisted of most of the Gentry in most Counties; and for the present were awed, and kept under by the Militia, and the Committees of Parliament) had so good an opinion of their own Reputation and Interest, that they believed they were able, upon the Assistance of few Troops, to suppress their Neighbours who were of the other Party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their Authority over them with great rigor, and insolence. And so the Lord *Hopton* was no sooner possessed of *Winchester*, where Sir *William Ogle* had likewise seized upon the Castle for the King, and put it into a tenable condition, than the Gentlemen of *Sussex*, and of the adjacent parts of *Hampshire*, sent privately to him, "that if he
" would advance into Their Country, they would
" undertake, in a short time, to make great Levies
" of Men for the recruit of his Army; and likewise
" to possess themselves of such places as they should
" be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part
" of the Country in the King's Obedience."

Sir *Edward Ford*, a Gentleman of a good Family; and fair Fortune in *Sussex*, had then a Regiment of Horse in the Lord *Hopton's* Troops, and the King had made him High-Sheriff of *Sussex* that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that County. He had with him, in his Regiment, many of the Gentlemen of that County of good Quality: And they all besought the Lord *Hopton*, "that he would, since *Waller* was not like
" to advance, at least send some Troops into those

O O R
VIII. “ parts, to give a little Countenance to the Levies
“ they should be well able to make ;” assuring him,
“ that they would, in the first place, seize upon
“ *Arundel-Castle* ; which, standing near the Sea,
“ would yield great advantage to the King’s Service,
“ and keep that rich Corner of the Country at his
“ Majesty’s Devotion.” These, and many other
specious undertakings, disposed the Lord *Hopton*,
who had an extraordinary appetite to engage *Waller*
in a Battle, upon old accounts, to wish himself at
Liberty to comply with those Gentlemen’s desires :
of all which, he gave such an Account to the King,
as made it appear, that he liked the design, and
thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a
Regiment or two of Foot, under good Officers ; for
that Quarter of *Sussex*, which he meant to visit, was
a fast and inclosed Country, and *Arundel-Castle* had a
Garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provid-
ed, as being without apprehension of an Enemy.

It was about *Christmas*, and the King had no far-
ther design for the Winter, than to keep *Waller* from
visiting and disturbing the West, and to recruit his
Army to such a degree as to be able to take the Field
early ; which he knew the Rebels resolved to do :
yet the good Post the Lord *Hopton* was already
possessed of at *Winchester*, and these positive under-
takings from *Sussex*, wrought upon many to think,
that this opportunity should not be lost. The King
had likewise great Assurance of the general good
Affections of the County of *Kent*, inasmuch as the
People had with difficulty been restrained from
making some attempt, upon the confidence of their

own

own strength; and if there could be now such a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and *Suffex*, it might produce an Association little inferior to that of the Southern Counties under the Earl of *Manchester*; and might, by the Spring, be an occasion of that distraction to the Parliament, that they should not well know to what part to dispose their Armies; and the King might apply his own to that part, and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

These, and other reasons prevailing, the King gave the Lord *Hopton* order to prosecute his design upon *Suffex*, in such manner as he thought fit; provided, that he was well assured, that *Waller* should not make advantage, upon that Enterprize, to find the way open to him to march into the West. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, Sir *Jacob Asley* was likewise sent to him from *Reading*, with a thousand commanded Men of that Garrison, *Wallingford*, and *Oxford*; which supply no sooner arrived at *Winchester*, but the Lord *Hopton* resolved to visit *Waller's* Quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the West. *Waller* was then Quartered at *Farnham*, and the Villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his Men, and faced the Enemy, as if he intended to Fight, but, after some light Skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired himself into the Castle of *Farnham*, a place of some strength; and drew his Army into the Town; and within three or four days,

B O O K went himself to *London*, more effectually to solicit
VIII. Recruits, than his Letters had been able to do.

When the Lord *Hopton* saw that he could attempt no farther upon those Troops, and was fully assured that Sir *William Waller* was himself gone to *London*, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the importunity of the Gentlemen of *Sussex*; and marched thither, with such a Body of Horse and Foot, as he thought competent for the Service. The exceeding hard Frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better Weather would have done; and he came to *Arundel* before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in it's Situation was strong; and though the Fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the Walls were good, and the Graff broad, and deep; and though the Garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit against a powerful Army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied any sudden Assault; and might, without putting themselves to much trouble, have been very secure against the Attempts of those without. But the Provisions of Victual, or Ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long Siege; and the Officer who Commanded, had not been accustomed to the prospect of an Enemy. So upon an easy and short Summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of Courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the Soldiers, the Castle was Surrendered the third day; and appeared to be

Arundel.
Castle Sur-
rendered to
the Lord
Hopton:

a place worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good Army.

The Lord *Hopton*, after he had staid there five or six days, and caused Provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the Command and Government thereof to Sir *Edward Ford*, High-Sheriff of the County, with a Garrison of above two hundred Men; besides many good Officers; who desired, or were very willing, to stay there; as a place very favorable for the making Levies of Men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remained there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the Winter with better Accommodation.

The News of Sir *William Waller's* return to *Farnham* with strong recruits of Horse and Foot, made it necessary to the Lord *Hopton*, to leave *Arundel-Castle* before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the Men he left there, whereof many were of Natures not easy to be governed, nor like to conform themselves to such strict Rules as the condition of the place required, or to use that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoined to them was, "in the first place, setting all other things
" aside, to draw in store of Provisions of all kinds,
" both for the Numbers they were already, and for
" such as would probably in a short time be added to
" them;" all which from the great plenty that Country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would

BOOK VIII. have remained long such a Thorn in the side of the Parliament, as would have rendered it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

Waller's Journey to *London* answered his expectation; and his Presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the Lord *Hopton's* Forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress that Lord had made in *Suffex*, and his taking *Arundel-Castle*, made them thought to be greater than He reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a County where the King had before no footing, awakened all their Jealousies and Apprehensions of the Affections of *Kent*, and all other places; and looked like a Land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate solicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their Armies by Levies of Volunteers, and persuading the Apprentices of the City to become Soldiers, upon the Privilege they gave them for their Freedom, for the time they Fought for them, as if they had remained in their Master's Service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this Torrent; they therefore resort to their inexhaustible Magazine of Men, their devoted City, to whose Affections the Person of Sir *William Waller* was most acceptable; and persuaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest Re-

giments of Auxiliaries, to march out of the Line to *Farnham*; which they consented to. Then they appointed the Earl of *Essex* to give his Orders to Sir *William Balfour*, with one thousand of the Horse of his Army, likewise to observe *Waller's* Commands; who, with this great addition of Forces, made haste to his other Troops at *Farnham*; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the Lord *Hopton's* Troops lay Quartered, at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions (as beating up of Quarters was his Master-piece) all the Night; and, by the break of day, encompassed a great Village called *Alton*, where a Troop or two of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot of the King's lay in too much security. However, the Horse took the Alarm quickly, and for the most part, made their escape to *Winchester*, the head-Quarter; whither the Lord *Hopton* was returned but the Night before from *Arundel*. Colonel *Boles*, who Commanded his own Regiment of Foot there, consisting of about five hundred Men, which had been drawn out of the Garrison of *Wallingford*, when he found himself encompassed by the Enemies Army of Horse and Foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his Men into the Church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to Barricadoe the doors; so that the Enemy entered almost as soon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the Soldiers, over-powered, threw down their Arms, and asked Quarter; which was likewise offered to the Colonel;

B O O K who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till
VIII. with the death of two or three of the Assailants, he was killed in the place; his Enemies giving him a testimony of great Courage and Resolution.

Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good Regiment would make upon the Lord *Hopton's* Forces, and that the report which the Troops of Horse which had escaped, would make, would add nothing of Courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make haste to advance; and therefore, with great celerity, the hard Frost continuing, he marched with all his Army to *Arundel*-Castle, where he found that Garrison as unprovided as he could wish. For instead of increasing the Magazine of Victual by Supplies from the Country, they had spent much of that Store which the Lord *Hopton* had provided. The Governor was a Man of Honesty and Courage, but unacquainted with that Affair. having no other experience in War, than what he had learned since these Troubles. The Officers were many without Command, amongst whom one Colonel *Bamford*, an *Irish*-man, though he called himself *Bamfield*, was one; who, being a Man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the Faction, to which they were all naturally inclined with a hope to make himself Governor. In this distraction *Waller* found them, and by some of the Soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; by which he so increased their Faction, and Animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual Alarms, three or four days, near half the Men being

sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the Place and Themselves up, as Prisoners of War upon Quarter; the Place being able to have defended itself against all that power, for a much longer time. Here the Learned and Eminent Mr. *Chillingworth* was taken Prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the Lord *Hopton*, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the Season, chose to repose himself in that Garrison, till the Weather should mend. As soon as his Person was known, which would have drawn Reverence from any noble Enemy, the Clergy that attended that Army, prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable: so that, by their Barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his Book, and the Reputation he had with Learned Men.

The Lord *Hopton* sustained the loss of that Regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a Battle with *Waller*, to make even all Accounts; and made what haste he could, upon the first Advertisement, to have redeemed that Misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to Relieve *Arundel-Castle*; which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up: But that hope quickly vanished, upon the undoubted Intelligence of that Surrender, and the News that *Waller* was returned with a full Resolution to prosecute his design upon the West: to which, besides the encouragement of his two late Successes,

B O O K with which he was marvellously elated, he was in
VIII. some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the Horse which belonged to the Earl of *Essex's* Army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the Auxiliary-Regiments of *London* to dismiss them.

Upon the News the King received of the great supply the Parliament had so suddenly sent to *Waller*, both from the Earl of *Essex* his Army, and from the City, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of Foot as he could draw out of *Oxford*, and the Neighbour-Garrisons. And the Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, who had a fast Friendship with the Lord *Hopton*, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his Winter-Quarters, his Majesty was very willing he should, and cherished that disposition, being desirous that so great an Officer might be present in an Army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with Officers of great Experience. So the General, with such Volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to *Winchester*; where he found the Lord *Hopton* in trouble for the loss of the Regiment of Foot at *Alton*, and with the unexpected assurance of the giving up of *Arundel*-Castle. He was exceedingly revived with the presence of the General, and desired to receive his Orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute Command of the Troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offered to keep him Company in all Expeditions, and to give him the best Assistance he was able; which the Lord *Hopton* was compelled to be contented with; nor

could there be a greater union and consent between two Friends: The General being ready to give his Advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving Orders accordingly.

As soon as they were informed that *Waller* had drawn all his Troops together about *Farnham*, and meant to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about *Alresford*, near the midway between *Winchester* and *Farnham*, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in View, chose the ground upon which they meant the Battle should be Fought; of which *Waller*, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his Horse. The King's Army consisted of about five thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse; and *Waller* with Sir *William Balfour*, exceeded in Horse; but they were upon the matter equal in Foot; with this only advantage, that both his Horse and Foot were, as they were always, much better Armed; no Man wanting any Weapon Offensive, or Defensive, that was proper for him; and Sir *Arthur Haslerig's* Regiment of Cuirassiers, called the *Lobsters*, were so formidable, that the King's naked and unarmed Troops, among which few were better armed than with Swords, could not bear their impression.

The King's Horse never behaved themselves so ill, as that day. For the main Body of them, after they had sustained one fierce Charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance; and left their principal Officers

The Battle at
Alresford,
where Sir *W.*
Waller had
the advantage
over the *L.*
Hopton.

B O O K to shift for themselves. The Foot behaved themselves
VIII. very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other Foot, but bore two or three Charges from the Horse with notable Courage, and without being broken; whilst those Horse which stood upon the Field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the Evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither Party was sorry, the Lord *Hopton* thought it necessary to leave the Field; and drawing off his Men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his Cannon and Ammunition, whereof he lost none, that Night to *Reading*: the Enemy being so scattered, that they had no mind to pursue; only *Waller* himself made haste to *Winchester*, where he thought, upon this Success, to have been immediately admitted into that Castle; which was his own Inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so returned with taking revenge upon the City, by plundering it with all the Insolence and Rapine imaginable.

There could not then be any other estimate made of the loss *Waller* sustained, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the Auxiliary-Regiments of *London* and *Kent*, to march farther; who, within three or four days, left him; and returned to their Habitations; with great Lamentation of their Friends who were missing. On the King's side, besides Common-Men, and many good Officers, there fell that day the Lord *John Stuart*, Brother to the Duke of *Richmond*, and General of the Horse of that Army; and Sir *John Smith*, Brother to the Lord *Carrington*, and Commissary-General of

the Horſe. They were both brought off the Field by the few Horſe that ſtayed with them, and did their duty; carried to *Reading*; and the next day to *Abingdon*, that they might be nearer to the Aſſiſtance of the beſt remedies by Phyſicians and Surgeons. But they lived only to the ſecond dreſſing of their wounds; which were very many upon both of them.

The former was a young Men of extraordinary hope, little more than one-and-twenty years of Age; who being of a more choleric and rough Nature, than the other Branches of that Illuſtrious and Princely Family, was not delighted with the ſoftneſſes of the Court, but had dedicated himſelf to the profeſſion of Arms, when he did not think the Scene ſhould have been in his own Country. His Courage was ſo ſignal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had out-lived it; and he was ſo generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, Sir *John Smith*, had been trained up from his Youth in the War of *Flanders*; being of an Ancient Roman - Catholic Family; and had long the Reputation of one of the beſt Officers of Horſe. As ſoon as the firſt Troubles appeared in *Scotland*, he betook himſelf to the Service of his own Prince; and from the beginning of the War to his own end, performed many ſignal Actions of Courage. The death of theſe two eminent Officers, made the Names of many who perished that day, the leſs inquired into and mentioned.

This Battle was Fought the 29th day of *March*: which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the meaſures, and

BOOK altered the whole scheme of the King's Counsels:
 VIII. For whereas before, he hoped to have entered the Field early, and to have acted an Offensive part; he now discerned, he was wholly to be upon the Defensive; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the Men he had lost at *Alresford*, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his Army by a conjunction with Prince *Rupert*; who, he believed, would have returned in time, after his great Success at *Newark*, with a strong Body both of Horse and Foot, from *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and *North-Wales*: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the Prince had scarce put the Garrison of *Newark* in order, and provided it to endure another Attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his Highness' departure (though indeed the shame of the defeat he had given that Party, and the rage among the Officers, and Soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of Men they had been terrified, and subdued, broke and dissolved that whole Body within few days) when he was earnestly pressed from the Earl of *Derby*, to come into *Lancashire* to relieve him, who was already Besieged in his own strong House at *Latham*, by a great Body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the Prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the Earl made ample promises,
 “ that within so many days after the Siege should be
 “ raised, with any defeat to the Enemy, he would
 “ advance his Highness' Levies with two thousand
 “ Men, and supply him with a considerable Sum of
 “ Money.” And the Earl had likewise, by an Ex-

press, made the same instance to the King at *Oxford*; from whence his Majesty sent his Permission, and Approbation to the Prince, before his departure from *Newark*; hoping still that his Highness would be able to despatch that Service in *Lancashire*, and with the more notable recruits of Men in those parts, be able to return to *Oxford*, by the time that it would be necessary for his Majesty to take the Field. But within a short time, he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the Prince could finish his Expedition into *Lancashire* (which he did with wonderful Gallantry; raised the Siege at *Latham* with a great execution upon the Enemy; and took two or three of their Garrisons obstinately defended; and therefore with the greater Slaughter) the Marquis of *New-Castle* was compelled to retire, with his whole Army, within the Walls of *Tork*. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous Army of the *Scots*, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them, but he found he had a worse Enemy to deal with, as will appear.

From the time that the Ruling Party of the Parliament discerned that their General, the Earl of *Essex*, would never serve their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolved to have another Army apart, that should be more at their devotion; in the forming whereof, they would be sure to chuse such Officers, as would probably not only observe their Orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, “that there were so many disaffected Persons of the Nobility, and Principal Gentry, in the Counties of *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, that, if great care

The Association of several Counties formed under the Earl of Manchester.

B O O K “ was not taken to prevent it, there might a Body
 VIII. “ start up there for the King; which, upon the suc-
 “ cess of the Marquis of *New Castle*, whose Arms
 “ then reached into *Lincolnshire*, might grow very
 “ formidable.” For prevention whereof, they had
 formed an Association between *Essex* (a County,
 upon the influence of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the
 power of his Clergy, they most confided in) *Lam-*
bridgshire, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Bedford*, and *Huntington*;
 in all which they had many Persons of whose entire
 Affections they were well assured; and, in most of
 them, there were few considerable Persons who with-
 ed them ill. Of this Association they had made the
 Earl of *Manchester* General, to be subject only to their
 own Commands, and independent upon the Earl of
Essex. Under Him, they chose *Oliver Cromwel* to
 Command their Horse; and many other Officers,
 who never intended to be subject again to the King,
 and avowed other Principles in Conscience and
 Religion, than had been before publicly declared.

To this General they gave Order, “ to reside within
 “ that Association; and to make Levies of Men, suffi-
 “ cient to keep those Counties in Obedience:” for
 at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret
 Treaty made by Sir *Harry Vane* with the *Scots*, they
 were bound, as soon as the *Scots* should enter into
Yorkshire with their Army, that a Body of *English*
 Horse, Foot, and Cannon, should be ready to assist
 them, Commanded by their own Officers, as a Body
 apart: The *Scots* not then trusting their own great
 Numbers, as equal to Fight with the *English*. And
 from that time they were much more careful to raise,

and liberally supply, and provide for that Army under the Earl of *Manchester*, than for the other under the Earl of *Essex*. And now, according to their agreement, upon the *Scots* first entrance into *Yorkshire*, the Earl of *Manchester* had likewise Order to march with his whole Body thither; having, for the most part, a Committee of the Parliament, whereof Sir *Harry Vane* was one, with him; as there was another Committee of the *Scottish* Parliament always in that Army; there being also now a Committee of both Kingdoms residing at *London*, for the carrying on the War.

B O O K
VIII.
The Earl of
Manchester is
ordered with
his Army to
march into the
North to join
the Scots.

The Marquis of *New-Castle* being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his Army of Foot and Cannon into *York*, with some Troops of Horse; and sent the Body of his Horse, under the Command of General *Goring*, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infest the Enemy. Then he sent an Express to the King, to inform him of the Condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to defend himself in that Post, for the term of six Weeks, or two Months; in which time, he hoped, his Majesty would find some way to Relieve him." Upon receipt of this Letter, the King sent Orders to Prince *Rupert*, that "as soon as he had Relieved the Lord *Derby*, and recruited, and refreshed his Men, he should march, with what Expedition he could, to Relieve *York*; where being joined with the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, there was hope they might Fight the Enemy: and his Majesty would put himself into as good a posture as he could to take the Field, without expecting the Prince."

BOOK

VIII.

The Queen
retires from
Oxford to
Exeter.

All these ill Accidents falling out successively in the Winter, the King's Condition appeared very sad; and the Queen being now with Child, it wrought upon her Majesty's mind very much; and disposed her to so many Fears and Apprehensions of her Safety, that she was very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great Forces raised, and in a readiness, " by the Parliament, much greater than they yet ever " had been;" which was very true; and " that they " resolved, as soon as the Season was ripe, to march " all to *Oxford*." She could not endure to think of being Besieged; and, in conclusion, resolved not to stay there, but to go into the West; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to Embark for *France*. Though there seemed reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his Majesty heartily wished that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of Health, that all Civility and Reason obliged every Body to submit. So, about the beginning of *April*, she begun her Journey from *Oxford* to the West; and, by moderate Journies, came well to *Exeter*; where she intended to stay, till she was delivered; for she was within little more than one Month of her time; and, being in a place out of the reach of any Alarm, she recovered her Spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of *April*, when it concerned the King with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the Parliament meant to attempt with those vast Numbers of Men which they every day levied; and thereupon to conclude, what it would
be

be possible for his Majesty to do, in those Exigencies to which he was like to be reduced. The Intelligence, that *Waller* was still designed for the Western Expedition, made the King appoint his whole Army to be drawn together to a Rendezvous at *Marlborough*; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the Body to consist after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand Foot, and above four thousand Horse. There that Body remained for some weeks, to watch, and intend *Waller's* Motion, and to Fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting *Reading*, and some other Garrisons; proposed, for the increasing the Field-Forces: yet nothing was positively resolved, but to expect clearer evidence what the Parliament-Armies would dispose themselves to do.

So the King returned to *Oxford*, where, upon the desire of the Members of Parliament who had been called thither, and done all the Service they could for the King, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several Counties, satisfy the People of the King's importunate desire of Peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the Parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his Majesty's Assistance. They were to meet there again in the Month of *October* following.

The Parliament at Oxford Prorogued to October.

Then, that his Majesty might draw most of the Soldiers of that Garrison with him out of *Oxford*, when he should take the Field, that City was persuaded to complete the Regiment they had begun to form, under the Command of a Colonel whom the

B O O K King had recommended to them; which they did
 VIII. raise to the Number of a thousand Men. There were
 likewise two other Regiments raised of Gentlemen
 and their Servants, and of the Scholars of the several
 Colleges and Halls of the University; all which
 Regiments did Duty there punctually, from the time
 that the King went into the Field, till he returned
 again to *Oxford*; and all the Lords declared, “ that
 “ upon any emergent occasion, they would mount
 “ their Servants upon their Horses, to make a good
 “ Troop for a sudden Service;” which they made
 good; and thereby, that Summer. performed two or
 three very considerable and important Actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the
 Intelligence that could be procured, and by the
 change of his Quarters, that *Waller* had laid aside his
 Western-March; at least that it was suspended; and
 that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to
 recruit both His, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army, with
 all possible expedition; and that neither of them
 should move upon any Action till they should be both
 complete in greater Numbers, than either of them had
 yet marched with. Hereupon, the King's Army re-
 moved from *Marlborough* to *Newbury*; where they
 remained near a Month, that they might be in a
 readiness to attend the motion of the Enemy, and to
 assist the Garrisons of *Reading*, or *Wallingford*, or to
 draw out either, as there should be occasion.

There had been several deliberations in the Coun-
 cil of War, and always very different opinions, what
 should be done with the Garrisons when the King
 should take the Field; and the King himself was

irresolute upon those Debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to Prince *Rupert* by Letters, requiring His advice; who, after he had returned Answers, and received Replies, made a hasty journey to *Oxford* from *Chester*, to wait upon his Majesty. And it was then positively resolved, "that the Garrisons of *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Abingdon*, *Reading*, and *Banbury*, should be reinforced, and strengthened with all the Foot; that a good Body of Horse should remain about *Oxford*. and the rest should be sent in the West to Prince *Maurice*." If this Counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good Success: Both Armies of the Enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a Siege against any place so well provided, and resolved; and it would have been equally unconsellable to have marched to any distance, and have left such an Enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any March they could have made.

But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the King, in the strait he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those Councils, that resolutions, taken upon full Debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter Debates, and upon objections which had been answered before: Some Men being in their Natures irresolute, and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own

propofals; others being pofitive, and not to be altered from what they had once declared, how unreasonably foever, or what alterations foever there were in the Affairs. And the King himfelf frequently confidered more the Perfon who fpoke, as he was in his grace, or his prejudice, than the Counfel itfelf that was given; and always fufpected, at leaft trusted lefs to his own judgment than he ought to have done; which rarely deceived him fo much as that of other Men.

The Perſons
with whom
the King
conſulted in
his Military
Affairs at
this time.

The Perſons with whom he only conſulted in his Martial Affairs, and how to carry on the War, were (beſides Prince *Rupert*, who was at this time abſent) the General, who was made Earl of *Brentford*; the Lord *Wilmot*, who was General of the Horſe; the Lord *Hopton*, who uſually Commanded an Army apart, and was not often with the King's Army, but now preſent; Sir *Jacob Afley*, who was Major-General of the Army; the Lord *Digby*, who was Secretary of State; and Sir *John Colepepper*, Maſter of the Rolls: for none of the Privy-Council, thoſe two only excepted, were called to thoſe Conſultations; though ſome of them were ſtill adviſed with, for the better Execution, or Proſecution, of what was then and there reſolved.

The General, though he had been, without doubt, a very good Officer, and had great Experience, and was ſtill a Man of unqueſtionable Courage and Integrity; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued cuſtom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his Underſtanding, which had been never quick and vigorous; he having been always illiterate to the greateſt degree that can be

imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a Man of few Words, and of great Compliance, and usually delivered that as His opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the King.

Wilmot was a Man of a haughty and ambitious Nature, of a pleasant Wit, and an ill Understanding, as never considering above one thing at once; but he considered that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any Consideration. He had, from the beginning of the War, been very averse to any advice of the Privy-Council, and thought fit that the King's Affairs (which depended upon the Success of the War) should entirely be governed and conducted by the Soldiers, and Men of War; and that no other Counsellors should have any Credit with his Majesty. Whilst Prince *Rupert* was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather Personal Animosity against him, made any thing that *Wilmot* said or proposed, enough slighted and contradicted: and the King himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his Person, or esteem of his Parts. But now, by the Prince's absence, and his being the second Man in the Contempt he had of the old General, who was there the only Officer above him, he grew marvelously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose advice ought to be followed, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good Fellowship (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the Company) made himself so popular with all

B O O K the Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, that
VIII. he had, in truth, a very great Interest; which he desired might appear to the King, that he might have the more Interest in Him. He was positive in all his Advices in Council, and bore Contradiction very impatiently; and because he was most Contradicted by the two Privy-Counsellors, the Secretary, and the Master of the Rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest Influence upon the King, he used all the Artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the Officers of the Army, by telling them, what they had said in Council; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful; and, in the Times of Jollity, persuaded the old General to believe that they invaded his Prerogative, and meddled more in the Business of the War, than they ought to do; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in Advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

The Lord *Hopton* was a Man Superior to any Temptation, and abhorred enough the licence, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good Understanding, a clear Courage, an Industry not to be tired, and a Generosity that was not to be exhausted; a Virtue that none of the rest had: but in the Debates concerning the War, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the Office of a Commander in Chief; which rendered him rather fit for the Second, than for the Supreme Command in an Army.

Sir *Jacob Ashley* was an honest, brave, plain Man, and as fit for the Office he exercised, of Major-General of the Foot, as Christendom yielded; and was so generally esteemed; very discerning and prompt in giving Orders, as the occasions required, and most cheerful, and present in any Action. In Council he used few, but very pertinent words; and was not at all pleased with the long Speeches usually made there; and which rather confounded, than informed his Understanding: so that he rather collected the ends of the Debates, and what he was himself to Do, than enlarged them by his own Discourses; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two Privy-Counsellors, though they were of the most different Natures and Constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their Opinions; and being, in their parts, much Superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the King's Judgment to like what they approved: yet one of them, who had in those Cases the Ascendant over the other, had that Excess of Fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and resolving the grounds of the Resolutions which had been taken, or upon the Suggestions of other Men, changed his own mind; and thereupon caused Orders to be altered, which produced, or were thought to produce, many Inconveniencies.

This unsteadiness in Counsels, and in matters resolved upon, made the former Determination concerning the Garrisons, to be little considered. The King's Army had lain above three Weeks at, and about *Newbury*; in which time their Numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon

B O O K their Muster near *Marlborough*, when the King was present. When it was known that both the Parliament Armies were marched out of *London*; That under *Essex* to *Windſor*; and That of *Waller*, to the parts between *Hertford-Bridge*, and *Baſing*, without any purpose of going farther West; the King's Army marched to *Reading*; and in three days. his Majesty being present, they ſlighted and demolished all the works of that Garrison: And then, which was about the middle of *May*, with the Addition of thoſe Soldiers, which increaſed the Army five-and-twenty hundred old Soldiers more, very well Officered, the Army retired to the Quarters about *Oxford*, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to Fight with one of the Enemy's Armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

The King returned to *Oxford*, and reſolved to ſtay there till he could have better Information what the Enemy intended; which was not now ſo eaſy as it had formerly been. For, ſince the Conjunction with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners in one Council, for the carrying on the War, little buſineſs was brought to be Conſulted in either of the Houſes; and there was much greater Secrecy than before; few or none being admitted into any kind of Truſt, but they whoſe Affections were known to concur to the moſt deſperate Counſels. So that the Deſigns were ſtill entirely formed, before any part of them were communicated to the Earl of *Essex*; nor was more communicated at a Time than was neceſſary for the preſent Execution; of which he was ſenſible enough, but could not help it. The Intention was, "that the two Armies, which

leading
moved by the
King's Forces

“ marched out together, should afterward be distinct;
“ and should only keep together, till it appeared what
“ Course the King meant to take; and if he stayed
“ in *Oxford*, it would be fit for both to be in the Siege;
“ the Circumvallation being very great, and to be
“ divided in many places by the River; which would
“ keep both Armies still asunder under their several
“ Officers.” But, if the King marched out, which
they might reasonably presume he would, then the
purpose was, “ that the Earl of *Effex* should follow
“ the King, wherever he went;” which, they imagin-
ed, would be Northward; “ and that *Waller* should
“ march into the West, and subdue That.” So that,
having so substantially provided for the North, by
the *Scots*, and the Earl of *Manchester*; and having an
Army under the Earl of *Effex*, much Superior in
Number to any the King could be attended with; and
the third, under *Waller*, at Liberty for the West; they
promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they
should make an End of the War that Summer.

It was about the tenth of *May*, that the Earl of *Effex*
and Sir *William Waller* marched out of *London*, with
both their Armies; and the very next day after the
King’s Army had quitted *Reading*, the Earl of *Effex*,
from *Windſor*, sent Forces to possess it; and recom-
mended it to the City of *London*, to provide both
Men, and all other things necessary for the keeping
it; which the Memory of what they had suffered for
the two past years, by being without it, easily disposed
them to do. By this means, the Earl had the Oppor-
tunity to join with *Waller’s* Army when he should
think fit; which before they could not do with

B O O K Convenience, or Security. Nor did they ever after
VIII. join in one Body, but kept at a fit Distance, to be able, if there were Occasion, to help each other.

The Earl of *Effex*'s Army consisted of all his old Troops, which had Wintered about *St. Albans*, and in *Befordshire*; and being now increased with four Regiments of the Trained-bands, and Auxiliaries within the City of *London*, did not amount to less than ten thousand Horse and Foot. *Waller* had likewise received a large Recruit from *London*, *Kent*, and *Suffex*; and was little inferior in Numbers to *Effex*, and in Reputation above him. When the King's Army retired from *Reading*, the Horse Quartered about *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, and all the Foot were put into *Abingdon*, with a Resolution to quit, or defend that Town, according to the manner of the Enemies Advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the East-side, where, besides some indifferent Fortifications, they had the advantage of the River, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the West-side from *Wantage*, and *Farrington*, they would draw out and Fight, if the Enemy were not by much Superior in Number; and, in that Case, they would retire with the whole Army to *Oxford*.

Being satisfied with this Resolution, they lay in that quiet Posture, without making the least Impression upon the Enemy, by beating up his Quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making Incurfions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill Humor, and Negligence of *Wilmot*. The Earl of *Effex* advanced with his Army towards *Abingdon*; and upon the East-part of

the Town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their Defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of it, but the General, early the next Morning, marched with all the Foot out of *Abingdon*, the Horse being come thither in the Night to make good the Retreat: and all this was done before his Majesty had the least notice, or suspicion of it. As soon as his Majesty was informed of it by Sir *Charles Blunt*, the Scout-Master-General, whom the General had sent to acquaint the King with the resolution, he sent Sir *Charles Blunt* back to the General, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the Town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his Majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the Messenger could return, the Army was within sight of *Oxford*, and so the Foot was drawn through the City, and the Horse Quartered in the Villages about the Town.

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Abingdon
quitted by the
King's Forces.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the King's infinite Trouble, quitted; whither a Party of *Essex's* Army came the same Night; and the next day, himself with all his Foot entered the Town; his Horse being Quartered about it. He then called *Waller* to bring up his Army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head-Quarter at *Wantage*: and so, without the striking one Blow, they got the Possession of *Reading*, *Abingdon*; and were Masters of all *Berkshire*; and forced the King to draw his whole Army of Horse and Foot on the North-side of *Oxford*; where they were to feed on his own Quarters, and to consider, how to keep

Possessed by
the Earl of
Essex.

B O O K *Oxford* itself from being Besieged, and the King from
VIII. being inclosed in it.

This was the deplorable Condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the Month of *May*; insomuch that it was generally reported at *London*, “that *Oxford* was taken, and the King a Prisoner;” and others more Confidently gave it out, “that his Majesty resolved to come to *London* :” of which the Parliament was not without some Apprehension, though not so much, as of the King’s putting himself into the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, and into his Protection; which They could not endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the Committee of both Kingdoms, who Conducted the War, writ this Letter to the General.

My Lord.

“ We are credibly informed, that his Majesty intends to come for *London*. We desire you, that you will do your Endeavour to inform yourself of the same; and if you think that his Majesty intends at all to come to the Armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and do nothing therein, until the Houses shall give Direction.”

So much Jealousy they had of the Earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the King could do; who could not entertain any reasonable Expectation of Increase, or Addition of Force from the North, or from the West; Prince *Rupert* being then in his march into *Lancashire*, for the Relief of the Earl of *Derby* (besieged in his Castle of *Latham*) and Prince *Maurice* being still engaged in the unfortunate

Siege of *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, a little Fisher-Town; which, after he had lain before it a Month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this Perplexity, the King sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol*, to provide better for the Security of that important City; where he yet knew *Waller* had many Friends; and himself resolved to stay at *Oxford*, till he saw how the two Armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might Fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two Armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the Advantages they had, or improving the Confusion, and Distraction, which the King's Forces were, at that time, too much inclined to. Orders were given so to Quarter the King's Army, that it might keep the Rebels from passing over either of the Rivers, *Cherwel*, or *Isis*, which run on the East and West-sides of the City; the Foot being, for the most part, Quartered towards the *Cherwel*, and the Horse, with some Dragoons, near the *Isis*.

In this posture all the Armies lay quiet, and without Action, for the space of a day; which somewhat composed the minds of those within *Oxford*, and of the Troops without; which had not yet recovered their dislike of their having quitted *Abingdon*, and thereby of being so straitened in their Quarters. Some of *Waller's* Forces attempted to pass the *Isis* at *Newbridge*, but were repulsed by the King's Dragoons: But the next day *Effex*, with his whole Army, got

B O O K over the *Thames* at *Sanford-Ferry*, and marched to
VIII. *Islip*, where he made his Quarters; and, in his way,
made a halt upon *Bullington-Green*, that the City
might take a full view of his Army, and he of it. In
order to which, himself, with a small Party of Horse,
came within Cannon-shot; and little Parties of Horse
came very near the Ports, and had light Skirmishes
with some of the King's Horse, without any great
hurt on either side.

The next Morning, a strong Party of the Earl's
Army endeavoured to pass over the *Cherwel*, at
Gosworth-Bridge; but were repulsed by the Musque-
teers with very considerable loss; and so retired to
their Body. And now the Earl, being engaged, with
his whole Army, on the East-side of the River *Cherwel*,
whereby he was disabled to give, or receive any
speedy Assistance to, or from *Waller*: the King resol-
ved to attempt the repossessing himself of *Abingdon*,
and to take the opportunity to Fight with *Waller*
singly, before he could be relieved from the other
Army. In order to this, all the Foot were in the
Evening drawn off from the Guard of the Passes, and
marched through *Oxford* in the Night towards *Abing-
don*; and the Earl of *Cleveland*, a Man of signal
Courage, and an excellent Officer upon any bold
Enterprise, advanced, with a Party of one hundred
and fifty Horse, to the Town itself; where there were
a thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse of *Waller's*
Army; and entered the same, and killed many, and
took some Prisoners: but upon the Alarm, he was
so overpowered, that his Prisoners escaped: though
he killed the Chief-Commander, and made his Retreat

good, with the loss only of two Officers, and as many Common-Soldiers; and so, both the attempt upon *Abingdon* was given over, and the design of Fighting *Waller* laid aside; and the Army returned again to their old Post, on the North-side of *Oxford*.

Sir *Jacob Aspley* undertook the Command himself at *Gosworth-Bridge*, where he perceived the Earl intended to force his Passage; and presently cast up Breast-works, and made a Redoubt for the defence of his Men, and Repulsed the Enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renewed their Assault two or three days together, and planted Cannon to facilitate their Passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many Men in the Attempt. On the other side, *Waller's* Forces from *Abingdon* did not find the new Bridge so well defended; but overpowering those Guards, and having got Boats, in which they put over their Men, both above and below, they got that Passage over the River *Isis*: by which they might have brought over all their Army, and fallen upon the King's Rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the King to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of being shut up in *Oxford*. *Waller* lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand Horse and Foot, by *Newbridge*: the Van whereof Quartered at *Ensam*, and, the King's Foot being drawn off from *Gosworth-Bridge*, *Essex* immediately brought his Men over the *Cherwel*; and Quartered that Night at *Blechingdon*; many of his Horse advancing to *Woodstock*; so that the King seemed to them to be perfectly shut in

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between them ; and to his own People, his Condition seemed so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most Secret Affairs, and whose Fidelity was never suspected, proposed to him to render himself, upon Conditions, to the Earl of *Essex*; which his Majesty rejected with great indignation; yet had the goodness to conceal the Name of the Proposer; and said, “ that possibly he might be found “ in the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, but he would be “ dead first.” Word was given, “ for all the Horse to “ be together,” at such an hour, to expect Orders; and a good Body of Foot with Cannon, marched through the Town towards *Abingdon*; by which, it was concluded, that both Armies would be amused, and *Waller* induced to draw back over *Newbridge*: and, as soon as it was Evening, the Foot, and Cannon, returned to their old Post on the North-side.

The King resolved, for the encouragement of the Lords of the Council, and the Persons of Quality who were in *Oxford*, to leave his Son the Duke of *York* there; and promised, if they should be Besieged, “ to “ do all he could to Relieve them, before they should “ be reduced to Extremity.” He appointed then, “ that two thousand and five hundred choice-Mus- “ queteers should be drawn out of the whole Foot, “ under the Command of Sir *Jacob Astley*, and four “ experienced Colonels; all which should, without “ Colors, repair to the place where the Horse attend- “ ed to receive Orders, and that the rest of the Foot “ should remain together on the North-side, and so “ be applied to the defence of *Oxford*, if it should be “ Besieged.”

All

All things being in this order, on *Monday* the third of *June*, about nine of the Clock at Night, the King, with the Prince. and those Lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of Quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind; marched out of the North-Port, attended by his own Troop, to the place where the Horse, and Commanded Foot, waited to receive them; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the two Armies, and by Day-break were at *Hanborough*, some Miles beyond all their Quarters. But the King rested not till the Afternoon, when he found himself at *Burford*; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any Army that was to follow with Baggage, and a Train of Artillery: so that he was content to refresh his Men there; and supped himself; yet was not without Apprehension that he might be followed by a Body of the Enemies Horse; and therefore, about nine of the Clock, he continued his March from *Burford* over the *Cotswold*, and by Midnight reached *Burton* upon the Water; where he gave himself, and his wearied Troops, more rest and refreshment.

The Morning after the King left *Oxford*, the Foot marched again through *Oxford*, as if they meant to go to *Abingdon* to continue that Amusement which the day before had prevailed with *Waller*, to send many of his Men back, and to delay his own Advance: and likewise, that Quarters might be provided for them against their return; which they did by Noon. The Earl of *Essex* had that Morning, from *Blechingdon*,

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sent some Horse to take a view of *Oxford*; and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the Colors standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the King was still there, and as much in his power as ever. *Waller* had earlier Intelligence of his Majesty's Motion, and sent a good Body of Horse to follow him, and to retard his March, till he could come up: and his Horse made such haste, that they found in *Burford* some of the straggling Soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of Drink, had stayed behind their Fellows. The Earl of *Essex* followed likewise with his Army, and Quartered at *Chuppen-Norton*; and *Waller's* Horse were as far as *Broadway*, when the King had reached *Evesham*; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his Garrison at *Tewkesbury* had been, the Night before surprised by a strong Party from *Glocester*; the Chief Officers being killed, and the rest taken Prisoners; most of the Common-Soldiers making their escape, and coming to *Evesham*. But, upon Intelligence that both Armies followed by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the River *Avon* about *Stratford*, or some other place, and so get between the King and *Worcester*, his Majesty changed his purpose of staying at *Evesham*, and presently marched to *Worcester*; having given order for the breaking of the Bridge at *Parshore*; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the Troops were passed, that, by the sudden falling of an Arch, Major *Bridges*, of the Prince's Regiment, a Man of good Courage and Conduct, with two or three other Officers of Horse, and about twenty Common-Men, fell unfortunately into the *Avon*, and were drowned.

The Earl of *Essex*, when he saw the King was got full two days March before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their Power, resolved to pursue him no farther, but to Consult what was else to be done; and, to that purpose called a Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies, to attend him at *Burford*; where it was resolved, "that *Waller*, who had the lighter Ordnance, " and the less Carriages, should have such an addition " of Forces, as *Massey*, the Governor of *Glocester*, " should be able to furnish him with; and so should " pursue and follow the King, wheresoever he should " go; and that the Earl of *Essex*, who had the greater " Ordnance, and the heavier Carriages, should prosecute the other Design of Relieving *Lyme*, and " reducing the West to the Obedience of the " Parliament."

Waller opposed this resolution all he could; and urged some Order, and Determination of the Committee of both Kingdoms in the point; and, " that the " West was assigned to him, as his Province, when " the two Armies should think fit to sever from each " other." However, *Essex* gave him positive Orders, as his General, " to march according to the Advice " of the Council of War;" which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous Complaints to the Parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at *Westminster*, were so incensed against the Earl of *Essex*, that they writ a very angry, and imperious Letter to him, in which they reproached him, " for not submitting to the Directions which they had given;" and required him " to follow their former Directions, and

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The Earl of
Essex marches
towards the
West:

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" to suffer *Waller* to attend the Service of the West." Which Letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days Westward. But the Earl chose rather to Answer their Letter, than to Obey their Order; and writ to them. " that their Directions " had been contrary to the Discipline of War, and to " Reason; and that, if he should now return, it would " be a great encouragement to the Enemy in all places; and Subscribed his Letter, Your Innocent," " though suspected Servant, *Essex*;" and then prosecuted his Resolution, and continued his march for the West.

Waller towards Worcester, after the King.

When *Waller* found there was no remedy, he Obeyed his Orders with much Diligence and Vigor; and prosecuted his march towards Worcester, where his Majesty then was; and, in his way, persuaded, rather than forced, the Garrison of Sudely-Castle, the strong House of the Lord *Chandois*, to deliver up that place to him. The Lord of that Castle was a young Man of Spirit and Courage; and had, for two years served the King very bravely in the Head of a Regiment of Horse which himself had raised at his own Charge; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the Fatigue, and having spent most of his Money, and without any Diminution of his Affection, left the King, under pretence of Travel; but making London his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place; which he enjoyed, without considering the Issue of the War, or showing any Inclination to the Parliament; nor did he, in any degree contribute to the delivery of his House; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the Government of Sir *William Morton*, a

Gentleman of the long Robe; who, in the beginning of the War, cast off his Gown, as many other Gallant Men of that Profession of the Law did, and served as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of Horse under the Lord *Chandois*; and had given so frequent Testimony of signal Courage in several Actions, in which he had received many wounds, both by the Pistol and the Sword, that his Mettle was never suspected; and his Fidelity as little questioned: And after many years of Imprisonment, sustained with great Firmness and Constancy, he lived to receive the Reward of his Merit, after the Return of the King; who made him first a Serjeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench; where he sat many years, and discharged the Office with much Gravity and Learning; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by Robbing on the High-way. He was unfortunate, though without Fault, in the giving up that Castle in so unseasonable a Conjunction; which was done by the Faction and Artifice of an Officer within, who had found means to go out to *Waller*, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the Garrison; which indeed had not plenty of any thing: and so, by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, it was given up; and the Governor made Prisoner, and sent to the Tower; where he remained some years after the end of the War. From hence *Waller*, with great Expedition marched to *Evesham*; where the evil Inhabitants received him willingly; and had, as soon as the King left them, repaired their Bridge over the *Avon*, to facilitate his coming to them; which he could not else so soon have done.

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The King rested some days at *Worcester*, whereby he very much refreshed his Troops, which were there spared from doing duty; and likewise, by the Loyalty of that good Town, and the Affection of the Gentry of that Country, who retired for their Security, he procured both Shoes and Stockings, and Money for his Soldiers: and when, upon good Information, *Waller* was marched out of *Evesham* with his whole Army towards *Worcester*, which he would probably Besiege, the King resolved not to be found there; and therefore, having left that City well provided, and in good heart, his Majesty removed with his little Army to *Bewdly*, that he might keep the River *Severn* between Him and the Enemy; the Foot being Quartered together at *Bewdly*, and the Horse by the side of the River towards *Bridgenorth*. The posture in which the King was, made *Waller* conclude that his Majesty intended his Course to *Shrewsbury*, and to the more Northern-Parts. And it is true, that, without any such Resolution, Orders were sent to *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Ludlow*, and other Garrisons, “that they should make all possible Provisions of
“Corn, and other Victual; which they should cause,
“in great quantities, to be brought thither;” which confirmed *Waller* in his former Conjecture, and made him advance with his Army beyond the King, that he might be nearer *Shrewsbury* than He. But, God knows, the King was without any other Design, than to avoid the Enemy; with whom he could not, with such a handful of Foot, and without Cannon, propose reasonably to Fight a Battle: and he had too many good Reasons against going to either of those

places, or to those parts, which *Waller* conceived him inclined to; and his Majesty might well assume the Complaint, and Expression of King *David*, “that he “*was hunted as a Partridge upon the Mountains;*” and knew not whither to resort, or to what place to repair for rest.

In this Perplexity, it looked like the Bounty of Providence, that *Waller* was advanced so far: upon which, the King took a sudden Resolution, to return with all Expedition to *Worcester*, and to make haste to *Evesham*; where, having broke the Bridge, and so left the River of *Avon* at his back, he might be able, by quick Marches, to join with that part of his Army, which he had left at *Oxford*; and might thereby be in a Condition to Fight with *Waller*, and to prosecute any other Design. Upon this good Resolution, care was taken for all the Boats to come both from *Bridgenorth*, and *Worcester*, that the Foot might, with the more speed and ease, be carried thither; all which succeeded to wish. Infomuch, that the next day, being Embarked early in the Morning, the Foot arrived so soon at *Worcester*, that they might very well have marched that Night to *Evesham*, but that many of the Horse, which were Quartered beyond *Bewdley* towards *Bridgenorth*, could not possibly march at that rate, nor come up soon enough; so that it was necessary that both Horse and Foot should remain that Night together at *Worcester*; which they did accordingly.

The next Morning, the King found no cause to alter any thing in his former Resolution; and received good Intelligence, that *Waller*, without knowing any

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thing of his motion, remained still in his old Quarters ; whereupon he marched very fast to *Evesham* ; nor would he stay there ; but gave Order for the Horse and Foot, without delay, to march through it ; after he had provided for the breaking down the Bridge , and made the Inhabitants of the Town pay two hundred pounds, for their alacrity in the reception of *Waller* ; and likewise compelled them to deliver a thousand pair of Shoes for the use of the Soldiers ; which , without any long pause , was submitted to, and performed. Then the Army marched that Night to *Broadway* , where they Quartered ; and very early the next Morning , they mounted the Hills near *Camden* ; and there they had time to breathe , and to look with pleasure on the places where they had passed through ; having now left *Waller* , and the ill ways he must pass, far enough behind ; for even in that Season of the year, the ways in that Vale were very deep.

Now the King sent Colonel *Fielding* , and lest he might misarry (for both from *Glocester* , *Tewkesbury* , and *Sudely* - Castle, the Enemy had many Scouts abroad) two or three other Messengers , to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford* , to let them know “ of his happy Return ; and that he meant to Quarter that Night at *Burford* ; and the next , at *Whitney* ; where he did expect , that all his Foot , with their Colors and Cannon , would meet him ; which , with unspeakable joy , they did. So that , on *Thursday* the twentieth of *June* , which was within seventeen days after he had left *Oxford* in that disconsolate Condition , the King found himself in the head of his Army , from which he had been so severed, after so many Accidents

and melancholic Perplexities, to which Majesty had been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that Peregrination be too particularly, and punctually set down. For as they administered much delight after they were passed, and gave them great Argument of acknowledging God's good Providence in the preservation of the King, and, in a manner, snatching him as a Brand out of the Fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the Rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to Posterity, to see the most exact Relation of an Action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the King thought himself in a posture not only to abide *Waller*, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline fighting with his Majesty.

In the short time the King had been absent, the Garrison at *Oxford* was not idle. When the King in the Spring had prepared for the Field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the Garrison at *Reading*, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser Garrisons, at a less distance from *Oxford*; and thereupon the Garrison at *Bosnal-House*, reputed a strong place, upon the Edge of *Oxfordshire* and *Buckinghamshire*, was appointed to demolish the Works and Fortifications, and to retire, and join with the Army: which was no sooner done, but the Garrison at *Aylesbury*, that had felt the Effects of the other's ill Neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a Garrison into it; which, after the King had left *Oxford*, and both the Armies of *Essex* and *Waller*, were gone from before it, gave

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little less trouble to that City, and obstructed the Provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the Armies had done. This brought great Complaints and Clamor from the Country, and from the Town, to the Lords of the Council; and was ever made an Excuse for their not complying with the Commands they sent out, for Laborers to work upon the Fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the Town. When both Armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the King, that there seemed for the present no reasonable apprehension of being Besieged, the Lords considered of a Remedy to apply to this Evil from *Bosfal-House*; and receiving encouragement from Colonel *Gage* (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large) who offered to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a Party of Commanded Men of the Foot, which the King had left there, with three pieces of Cannon, and a Troop of Horse of the Town, to obey his Orders, who, by the break of day, appeared before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the Church, and the Out-Houses, and then battered the House itself with his Cannon; which they within, would not long endure; but desired a Parley. Upon which the House was rendered, with the Ammunition, one piece of Ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of Victual, whereof they had plenty for Horse and Man; and had Liberty given them to go away with their Arms, and Horses; very easy Conditions for so strong a Post; which was obtained with the loss of one

inferior Officer, and two or three Common-Men. Here the Colonel left a Garrison, that did not only defend *Oxford* from those mischievous Incurfions, but did very near fupport itfelf, by the Contribution it drew from *Buckinghamfhire*, befides the Prey it frequently took from the very Neighbourhood of *Aylefbury*.

The Earl of *Effex*, by flow and eafy Marches, and without any Oppofition or Trouble, entered into *Dorfetfhire*; and by his great Civility, and Affability towards all Men, and the very good Difcipline in his Army, wrought very much upon the People. Infomuch that his Forces rather increafed, than diminished; which had, during his being before *Oxford*, been much leffened, not only by the Numbers which were killed and hurt, but by the running away of many, whilft the fharp Encounters continued at *Gofworth-Bridge*. It can hardly be imagined, how great a Difference there was in the humor, difpofition, and manner of the Army under *Effex*, and the other under *Waller*, in their behaviour and humanity towards the People; and, confequently, in the Reception they found among them; the demeanour, and carriage of thofe under *Waller* being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: befides that the People, in all places, were not without fome Affection, and even reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his Father, had been always univerfally popular.

When he came to *Blandford*, he had a great mind to make himfelf Mafter of *Weymouth*, if he could compafs it without engaging his Army before it;

B O O K which he resolved Not to do; however it was little
VIII. out of his way to pass near it. Colonel *Afshurnham*, then Governor of *Weymouth*, was made choice of for that Command, upon the Opinion of his Courage, and Dexterity; and, to make way for him, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper* had been, the Year before, removed from that Charge; and was thereby so much disobliged, that he quitted the King's Party, and gave himself up, Body and Soul, to the Service of the Parliament, with an implacable Animosity against the Royal Interest. The Colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the Fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an Army, yet too strong to be delivered upon the Approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the Governor afterwards pressed to have the whole examined before a Council of War, where he produced a Warrant, under the hand of Prince *Maurice*, "that, the Town being untenable, he should, upon the advance of the Earl of *Essex*, put a sufficient strength into *Portland-Castle*, and retire thither;" which he had done; and was, by the Council of War, absolved from any Crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolved, he lost Reputation by it; and was thought to have left the Town too soon, though he meant to have returned again after he had visited *Portland*. But in the mean time the Townsmen mutinied, and sent to the Earl of *Essex* when he was near the Town; whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwise have done; and gave the Garrison leave to march with their Arms to Prince *Maurice*; and so became Master of *Wey-*

Weymouth delivered to the Earl of *Essex*.

mouth; and leaving Men enough out of the Country to defend it, without any delay, he prosecuted his march to *Lyme*; from whence Prince *Maurice*, upon the news of the loss of *Weymouth*, had retired with haste enough towards *Exeter*, with a Body of full five-and-twenty hundred Foot, and eighteen hundred Horse; after he had put a Garrison of five hundred Men into *Wareham*, and with some loss of Reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

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Lyme relieved by him.

As soon as the King had joined his Army at *Whitney* which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred Foot, and very near four thousand Horse, with a convenient Train of Artillery, he resolved no longer to live upon his own Quarters, which had been too much wasted by Friends and Enemies; but to visit the Enemy's Country; and so, the next day, he marched towards *Buckingham*, where he would stay, and expect *Waller* (of whose motion he yet heard nothing) and from whence, if he appeared not, his Majesty might enter into the Associated Counties, and so proceed Northward, if, upon Intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the King staid at *Buckingham*, and thought himself now in a good Condition to fight with the Enemy (his Troops, every day bringing in store of Provisions, and, being now in a Country where they were not expected, met with many Cart-loads of Wine, Groceries, and Tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from *London* to *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; all which were very welcome to *Buckingham*) a new, and unexpected Trouble fell upon him by the ill

B O O K humor, and Faction in his own Army. *Wilmot* continued still sullen and perverse, and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an Animosity against the Lord *Digby*, and the Master of the Rolls, that he persuaded many Officers of the Army, especially of the Horse, where he was most entirely obeyed, to join in a Petition to the King, "that those
VIII. "two Counsellors might be excluded, and be no
"more present in Councils of War; which they
"promised to do."

Waller remained still in *Worcestershire*; upon which it was again Consulted, what the King was to do. Some proposed "the marching presently into the Associated Counties;" others, "to lose no time in
"endeavouring to join with Prince *Rupert*." *Wilmot*, without ever communicating it with the King, positively advised, "that they might presently
"march towards *London*, and now both their
"Generals, and Armies were far from them, make
"trial what the true affection of the City was;
"and that, when the Army was marched as far as
"St. *Albans*, the King should send such a gracious
"Message both to the Parliament, and City, as
"was most like to prevail upon them;" and concluded, as if he knew "that this way of proceeding
"would be very much approved of by the Army."
This extravagant motion, with all the Circumstances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that Petition, which he knew was framing among the Officers; but wished them, "that such a Message
"should be prepared, and then that he would Com-

“ municate both that, and what concerned his march
“ towards *London*, to the Lords of the Council at
“ *Oxford*; that in so weighty an affair he might re-
“ ceive Their Counsel.” To that purpose the Lord
Digby, and the Master of the Rolls, were sent to
Oxford; who, after two days, returned without any
Approbation of the march, or the Message by the
Lords. But all that Intrigue fell of itself, upon the sure
Intelligence, “that *Waller* had left *Worcestershire*, and
“ marched, with what speed he could, to find his
“ Majesty; which gave new Argument of Debate.”

When the King had so dexterously deceived, and
eluded him by his quick march to and from *Worcester*,
Waller, who had not timely Information of it, and
less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire
his Army with long marches in hope to overtake
him; but first showed it at the Walls of *Worcester*, to
terrify that City, which had contemned his power a
year before, when it was not so well able to resist it.
But he quickly discerned he could do no good there:
then he marched towards *Glocester*, having sent to
Colonel *Massej* to send him some Men out of *Glocester*;
which he, being a Creature of *Essex*’s, refused to do.
Upon this Denial, he marched into *Warwickshire*; and
appointed his Rendezvous in *Keinton-Field*, the place
where the first Battle was fought. There he received
an addition of seven Troops of Horse, and about six
hundred Foot, from *Warwick* and from *Coventry*,
with eleven pieces of Ordnance. With this Recruit
he marched confidently towards the King; of which
his Majesty being informed, that he might the sooner
meet him, he marched with his Army to *Brackly*,

B O O K when *Waller* was near *Banbury*; and the Armies
V. II. coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair Sun-
 shine in the Afternoon, after a very wet Morning,
 both endeavoured to possess a piece of Ground they
 well knew to be of Advantage; which being nearer
 to *Waller*, and the King passing his whole Army
 through the Town of *Banbury*, before it could come
 to it, *Waller* had first his Men upon it in good Order
 of Battle, before the King could reach thither: so that
 the King lay that Night in the Field, half a mile East
 of *Banbury*, the River of *Cherwel* being between the
 two Armies.

The fight at
 Cropredy-
 Bridge.

The King resolved to make *Waller* draw off from
 that Advantage-ground, where he had stood two
 days; and in order thereunto, marched away, as if he
 would enter further into *Northamptonshire*: and he
 no sooner moved, but *Waller* likewise drew off from
 his ground, and coasted on the other side of the
 River, but at such a distance, that it was thought he
 had no mind to be engaged. The Van of the King's
 Army was led by the General, and *Wilmot*: in the
 Body was the King, and the Prince, and the Rear
 consisted of one thousand commanded Foot, under
 Colonel *Thelwell*, with the Earl of *Northampton's*
 and the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigades of Horse. And,
 that the Enemy might not be able to take any advan-
 tage, a Party of Dragoons was sent to keep *Cropredy-*
Bridge, until the Army passed beyond it. The Army
 marching in this order. Intelligence was brought to
 the King, " that there was a Body of three hundred
 " Horse, within less than two miles of the Van of the
 " Army, that marched to join with *Waller*; and that
 " might

“ might be easily cut off, if the Army mended their “ pace.” Whereupon, Orders were sent to the foremost Horse, “ that they should move faster, the Van and the Middle having the same Directions, without any notice given to the Rear.” *Waller* quickly discerned the great distance that was suddenly grown between the King’s Body and his Rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred Horse, one thousand Foot, and eleven pieces of Cannon to *Cropredy-Bridge*, which were quickly too strong for the Dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint Resistance: so that this Party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their Design of cutting off the King’s Rear, before they should be able to get to the Body of the Army. To facilitate this Execution, he had sent one thousand Horse more, to pass over at a Ford a mile below *Cropredy-Bridge*, and to fall upon the Rear of all, Timely notice being given of this to the Earl of *Cleveland*, who was in the Van of that Division, and “ of the Enemy’s having passed at *Cropredy* “ (which was confirmed by the running of the “ Horse, and Scattered Foot) and that there stood “ two Bodies of Horse without moving, and faced “ the Army:” Thereupon the Earl presently drew up his Brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discerned a great Body of the Rebels Horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his Rear. It was no time to expect Orders; but the Earl, led by his own great Spirit, Charged presently that Body with great fury, which sustained it not with equal Courage; losing a Cornet, and many Prisoners.

This Alarm had quickly reached the King, who
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R O O K sent to the Van to return, and himself drew up those
VIII. about him, to a little Hill beyond the Bridge; where he saw the Enemy preparing for a second Charge upon the Earl of *Cleveland*. The King Commanded the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, a Valiant young Gentleman, who Commanded his own Guard, "to make haste to " the Assistance of the Rear; and, in his way, to " Charge those two Bodies of Horse which faced his " Majesty." He, with above a hundred of Gallant and Stout Gentlemen, returned instantly over the Bridge, and made haste towards those two Bodies of Horse; who, seeing their fellows Routed by the Earl of *Cleveland*, were then advancing to Charge him in the Flank, as he was following the Execution. But the presence of this Troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their Flight; which very much facilitated the Defeat, that quickly ensued.

The Earl of *Cleveland*, after his short Encounter, made a stand under a great Ash (where the King had but half an hour before stayed and dined) not understanding what the Enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceived a Body of their Horse of sixteen Cornets, and as many Colors of Foot, placed within the Hedges, and all within Musquet-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which He likewise did upon Them with notable Vigor; and having stood their Musquet and Carabine-shot, he Charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the Officers of his Brigade, that he Routed both Horse and Foot, and Chased them with good execution beyond their Cannon: all

which, being eleven pieces, weretaken; with two Bar-ricadoes of Wood, which were drawn upon Wheels, and in each seven small Brass and Leather-Guns, charged with Case-shot; most of their Cannoneers were killed, and the General of their Ordnance taken Prisoner. This Man, one *Weemes*, a *Scots*-man, had been as much obliged by the King, as a Man of His Condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular: for he was made Master-Gunner of *England*, with a Pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his Life (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the *English* Nation) and having never done the King the least Service, he took the first opportunity to Disserve him; and having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the Rebellion, he was now preferred by them, for his eminent Disloyalty, to be General of the Ordnance in the Army of Sir *William Waller*; who was very much advised by him in all matters of Importance. Besides *Weemes*, there was taken Prisoner *Baker*, Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir *William Waller*'s own Regiment, and five or six Lieutenant-Colonels, and Captains, of as good Names as were amongst them; with many Lieutenants, Ensigns, and Cornets, Quarter-masters; and above one hundred Common-Soldiers; many more being slain in the Charge. The Earl pursued them as far as the Bridge; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their Dragoons, which were placed there to make good their Retreat: all which fled with them, or before. And so the Earl having cleared that side of the River, and not knowing how far he was from the Army, retired, as he had good reason to do; having

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lost, in this notable action, two Colonels, Sir *William Boteler*, and Sir *William Clarke*, both Gentlemen of *Kent*, of fair Fortunes, who had raised, and armed their Regiments at their own Charge, who were both killed dead upon the place, with one Captain more of another Regiment, and not above fourteen Common-Soldiers.

At the same time, the Earl of *Northampton* discovered that Party of the Enemies Horse, which had found a passage over the River a Mile below, to follow him in the Rear; and presently faced about with those Regiments of his Brigade. Upon which, without enduring the Charge, the whole Body betook themselves to Flight, and got over the Pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the Danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their Flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never returned again to their Army. The Lord *Bernard*, with the King's Troop, seeing there was no Enemy left on that side, drew up in a large Field opposite to the Bridge; where he stood, whilst the Cannon, on the other side, played upon him, until his Majesty and the rest of the Army passed by them, and drew into a Body upon the Fields near *Willscot*. *Waller* instantly quitted *Cropredy*, and drew up his whole Army upon the high grounds, which are between *Cropredy* and *Hanwell*, opposite to the King's Quarters about a Mile; the River of *Cherwel*, and some low grounds, being between both Armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the Clock in the After-

noon, the Weather very fair, and very warm (it being the 29th day of *June*) and the King's Army being now together, his Majesty resolved to prosecute his good Fortune, and to go to the Enemy, since They would not come to Him: and to that purpose, sent two good Parties, to make way for him to pass both at *Cropredy-Bridge*, and the other pass a Mile below; over which the Enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them. To *Cropredy* they sent such strong Bodies of Foot, to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the King thither could make no Impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the Night came, and severed them; all Parties being tired with the duty of the Day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a Mile below, after a short Resistance, gained it, and a Mill adjoining; where, after they had killed some, they took the rest Prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves, that, and the next Day, but did the Enemy much hurt; expecting still that their Fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

Here the King was prevailed with to make trial of another Expedient. Some Men, from the Conference they had with the Prisoners, others from other Intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a Message were now sent of Grace and Pardon to all the Officers and Soldiers of that Army, they would forthwith lay down their Arms: and it was very notorious: that Multitudes ran every day from thence. How this Message should be sent, so that it might be effectually delivered, was the only Question that remained,

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and it was agreed, “ that Sir *Edward Walker* (who “ was both Garter-King at Arms,” and Secretary to the Council of War) “ should be sent to publish that “ his Majesty’s Grace.” But he wisely desired, “ that a Trumpet might be first sent for a Pass;” the barbarity of that People being notorious, that they regarded not the Laws of Arms, or of Nations. Whereupon a Trumpet was sent to Sir *William Waller*, to desire “ a Safe-Conduct for a Gentleman, “ who should deliver a gracious Message from his “ Majesty.” After two hours Consideration, he returned Answer, “ that he had no power to receive “ any Message of Grace, or Favor from his Majesty, “ without the Consent of the two Houses of Parli- “ ment at *Westminster*, to whom his Majesty, if he “ pleased, might make his addressees.” And as soon as the Trumpet was gone, as an Evidence of his Resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest Cannon to be made at the King’s Army, and as near the place as they could, where his Majesty used to be.

When both Armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two Days they both drew off to a greater Distance from each other; and, from that time, never saw each other, It then quickly appeared, by *Waller’s* still keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from *Buckingham*, sometimes towards *Northampton*, and sometimes towards *Warwick*, that he was without other Design, than of recruiting his Army; and that the Defeat of that day at *Cropredy* was much greater, than it then appeared to be; and that it even broke the heart of his Army. And it is

very probable, that if the King, after he had rested and refreshed his Men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual Duty, besides that the Provisions would not hold longer in the same Quarters, had followed *Waller*, when it was evident He would not follow the King, he might have destroyed that Army without Fighting: for it appeared afterwards, without it's being pursued, that within fourteen days after that Action at *Cropredy*, *Waller's* Army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remained not with him half that Number.

But the truth is, from the time that the King discovered that mutinous Spirit in the Officers, governed by *Wilmot*, at *Buckingham*, he was unsatisfied with the Temper of his own Army, and did not desire a thorough Engagement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolved never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil Intention. But when he now found himself so much at Liberty from two great Armies, which had so straitly encompassed him, within little more than a Month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a State, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehensions of the terrible fright the Queen would be in (who was newly delivered of a Daughter, that was afterwards Married to the Duke of *Orleans*) when she saw the Earl of *Essex* before the Walls of *Exeter*, and should be at the same time informed, that *Waller* was with another Army in pursuit of himself,

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His Majesty resolved therefore, with all possible Expedition, to follow the Earl of *Essex*, in hopes that he should be able to fight a Battle with him, before *Waller* should be in a Condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improved, by a Conjunction with Prince *Maurice*; who, though he retired before *Essex* would be well able, by the North of *Devonshire*, to meet the King, when he should know that he marched that way.

His Majesty had no sooner taken this Resolution, than he gave notice of it to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*; and sent an Express into the West, to inform the Queen of it; who, by the way, carried Orders to the Lord *Hopton*, “to draw what Men he could out of *Monmouthshire*, and *South-Wales*, into *Bristol*; that himself might meet his Majesty with as many as he could possibly draw out of that Garrison.” So, without any delay, the whole Army, with what Expedition was possible, marched towards the West over the *Cotswold* to *Cirencester*; and so to *Bath*; where he arrived on the 15th day of *July*, and staid there one whole day, to refresh his Army; which stood enough in need of it.

The King had scarce marched two days Westward, when he was surpris'd with ill news from the North; for, after he had, by an Express from *Oxford*, received intelligence, “that Prince *Rupert* had not only relieved *York*, but totally defeated the *Scots*,” with many particulars to confirm it (all which was so much believed there, that they had made public Fires of Joy for the Victory) he now received quite contrary Information, and was too surely convinced, that his

The King
marches to-
wards the
West.

whole Army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble Actions performed by Prince *Rupert* in the Relief of *Latham*, and the Reduction of *Bolton*, and all other places in that large County (*Manchester* only excepted) in which the Rebels lost very many, much Blood having been shed, in taking places by Assault, which were too obstinately defended; the Prince had marched out of *Lancashire* with so good Reputation, and had given his Orders so effectually to *Goring*, who lay in *Lincolnshire* with that Body of Horse that belonged to the Marquis of *New-Castle's* Army, that they happily joined him; and marched together towards *York*, with such Expedition, that the Enemy was so surprised, that they found it necessary to raise the Siege in Confusion enough; and leaving one whole side of the Town free, drew to the other side, in great Disorder and Consternation; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealousies, between the Officers, and, indeed, between the Nations: the *English* resolving to join no more with the *Scots*, and They, on the other side, as weary of their Company, and Discipline; so that the Prince had done his Work; and if he had sat still, the Enemies great Army would have mouldered to nothing, and been exposed to any advantage his Highness would take of them.

But the dismal Fate of the Kingdom would not permit so much Sobriety of Counsel: One side of the Town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire Communication with those in the Town, and all Provision brought in abundantly out of the Country, but the Prince, without consulting with the

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An Account
of the Battle of
Marston-meer.

B O O K Marquis of *New-Castle*, or any of the Officers within
VIII. the Town, sent for all the Soldiers to draw out, and put the whole Army in Battalia, on that side where the Enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present Battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that Party of the King's Horse which Charged the *Scots*, so totally Routed and Defeated their whole Army, that they fled all ways for many Miles together, and were knocked on the head, and taken Prisoners by the Country, and *Lesly* their General fled ten Miles, and was taken Prisoner by a Constable (from whence the News of the Victory was speedily brought to *Newark*, and thence sent by an Express to *Oxford*; and so received and spread as aforesaid) yet the *English* Horse, Commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, Charged so well, and in such excellent Order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again, and Charged as briskly, that, though both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* were hurt, and both above the Shoulders, and many good Officers killed, they prevailed over that Body of Horse which opposed them, and totally routed, and beat them off the Field; and almost the whole Body of the Marquis of *New-Castle*'s Foot were cut off.

The Marquis himself, and his brave Brother, Sir *Charles Cavendish* (who was a Man of the noblest, and largest mind, though the least, and most inconvenient Body that lived) Charged in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, who came out of the Town with him, with as much Gallantry and Courage, as Men could do. But it was so late in the Evening before the Battle begun, that the Night quickly fell upon them; and

the Generals returned into the Town, not enough knowing their own loss, and performed very few Compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate Battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole Country (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good Army together) by Prince *Rupert's* hasty departure with all his Troops, and the Marquis of *New-Castle's* as hasty departure to the Sea-side, and taking Ship, and Transporting himself out of the Kingdom, and all the ill Consequences thereupon, give so ill an Account of any Conduct, or Discretion, in the managery of that Affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in writing of it, so Posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular Relation of it.

This may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great Generals, whereof one had still a good Army left, his Horse, by their not having performed their Duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his Foot having retired into the Town, the great execution having fallen upon the Northern-Foot; and the other, having the absolute Commission over the Northern-Counties, and very many Considerable places in them still remaining under his Obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good City, and the whole Country, as a prey to the Enemy; who had not yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the *Scots* having been so totally routed (as hath been said before) their General made Prisoner by a Constable, and detained in Custody, till most part of the next day was past; and most of the

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Officers, and Army, having marched, or run above ten Miles Northward, before they had News that they might securely return: And though the Horse under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best Officers killed, or so maimed that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt: so that if there had been any Agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good Degree (for the Enemy was not possessed of the Field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the Horse, which had done so little, might do the next day) there might probably many Advantages have appeared, which were not at the instant in view; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

But neither of them were Friends to such Deliberation; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a Messenger to each other, almost at the same time; the one, "that he was resolved, that Morning, to march away with his Horse, and as many Foot as he had left;" and the other, "that he would, in that Instant, repair to the Sea-side, and Transport himself beyond the Seas;" both which they immediately performed; the Marquis making haste to *Scarborough*, there Embarked in a poor Vessel, and arrived at *Hamburg*: the Prince, with his Army, begun his March the same Morning towards *Chester*. And so *York* was left to the discretion of Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governor thereof, to do with it as He thought fit; being in a Condition only to deliver it up with more

Decency, not to defend it against an Enemy that would require it. B O O K
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Whereas, if Prince *Rupert* had stayed with the Army he marched away with, at any reasonable Distance, it would have been long before the Jealousies, and Breaches, which were between the *English* and *Scots* Armies, would have been enough composed to have agreed upon the renewing the Siege; such great quantities of Provision being already brought into the Town: and the *Scots* talked of nothing but returning into their own Country, where the Marquis of *Mountrose* had kindled already a Fire, which the Parliament of *Edinburgh* could not quench. But the certain intelligence, “that the Prince was marched away without thought of returning, and that the Marquis had Embarked himself,” reconciled them so far (and nothing else could) that, after two days, they returned to the Posts they had before had in the Siege; and so straitened the Town, that the Governor, when he had no hope of Relief, within a Fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the Town, and the Gentry that were in it, and for Himself, and the few Soldiers he had left, as he could propose: And so he marched with all his Troops to *Carlisle*; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable Circumstances of Courage, Industry, and Patience. York delivered
to the Parlia-
ment. Forces.

The Times afterwards grew so bad, and the King's Affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no Opportunity to call either of those two great Persons to Account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any

B O O K particular Relation of the grounds of their Proceeding,
VIII. or the causes of their misadventures, by way of Excuse to the King, or for their own Vindication. Prince *Rupert*, only to his Friends, and after the Murder of the King, produced a Letter in the King's own hand, which he received when he was upon his March from *Lancashire* towards *York*; in which his Majesty said, "that his Affairs were in so very ill a State, that it would not be enough, though his Highness raised the Siege from *York*, if he had not likewise beaten the *Scottish* Army; which he understood to amount to no less than a peremptory Order to Fight, upon what disadvantage soever:" and added, "that the disadvantage was so great, the Enemy being so much Superior in number, it was no wonder he lost the day." But as the King's Letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest Cause of the Misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the Battle, as soon as the Enemy drew off; and without Consulting at all with the Marquis of *New-Castle*, and his Officers; who must needs know more of the Enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his Highness could do. For he saw not the Marquis, till, upon his Summons, he came into the Field, in the head of a Troop of Gentlemen, as a private Captain, when the Battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the Marquis' Army, who came out of the Town, being placed upon the ground left by the Prince, and assigned to them; which much indisposed both Officers and Soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join in it.

Then it was too late in the day to begin the Fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away ; for it was past three in the Afternoon : whereas, if it had been deferred till next Morning, in which time a full Consultation might have been had , and the Officers and Soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected ; nor would the Confusion and Consternation the other Armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present Engagement, have been the less ; but, on the contrary, very much improved by the delay ; for the Bitterness and Animosity between the Chief-Commanders was such, that a great part of the Army was marched six Miles, when it appeared, by the Prince's manner of drawing his Army together to that ground, that his resolution was to Fight : the speedy Intelligence whereof prevailed, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return ; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an Action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them ; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offered, it was generally believed that the *Scots* would , the next Morning , have continued their March Northward ; and the Earl of *Manchester* would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his Associated Counties ; and it would have been in the Prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

But then of all the rest, his going away the next Morning with all his Troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable ; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the King's Affairs in those parts. Nor did

B O O K those Troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the King's Service, but mouldered away by degrees, and the Officers, whereof many were Gentlemen of Quality and great Merit, were killed upon beating up of Quarters, and little Actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the Prince had some secret Intimation of the Marquis' purpose of immediately leaving the Town, and Embarking himself for the parts beyond the Seas, before the Marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the Command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his Charge, might be without any imagination that the Prince would take such a distracted Government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joint distemper, with which they were both transported, any Persons of discretion and honor, had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or at least for the suspension of their present Resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolved so soon, and so soon executed what they resolved, that very few had the least suspicion of their Intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their Conversion attempted.

All that can be said for the Marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a Condition and Employment so contrary to his Humor, Nature, and Education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from
having

having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine Gentleman, active, and full of Courage, and most accomplished in those Qualities of Horsemanship, Dancing, and Fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in Poetry, and Music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample Fortune, but Honor and Ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved Monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness, and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendor and security of the Crown; and Religion, as it cherished, and maintained that Order and Obedience that was necessary to Both; without any other passion for the particular Opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into Parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the Public Peace.

He had a particular Reverence for the Person of the King, and the more extraordinary Devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the Honor to be trusted with his Education as his Governor; for which Office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other Qualifications. Though he had retired from his great Trust, and from the Court, to decline the insupportable Envy which the powerful Faction had contracted

B O O K against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated
VIII. to possess himself of some place of strength, and to
 raise some Force for his Defence, but the Earl of *New-
 Castle* (he was made Marquis afterwards) obeyed his
 first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity,
 seized upon that Town; when till then there was
 not one Port-Town in *England*, that avowed their
 Obedience to the King: and he then presently raised
 such Regiments of Horse and Foot, as were necessary
 for the present state of Affairs; all which was done
 purely by his own Interest, and the Concurrence of
 his numerous Allies in those Northern Parts; who
 with all alacrity obeyed his Commands, without any
 charge to the King; which he was not able to supply.

And after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the Rebels
 grew so strong in *Yorkshire*, by the influence their
 Garrison of *Hull* had upon both the East and West-
 Riding there, that it behoved the King presently to
 make a General, who might unite all those Northern
 Counties in his Service, he could not chuse any
 Man so fit for it, as the Earl of *New-Castle*, who was
 not only possessed of a present Force, and of that
 important Town, but had a greater Reputation and
 Interest in *Yorkshire* itself, than, at that present, any
 other Man had: the Earl of *Cumberland* being at that
 time, though of entire Affection to the King, much
 decayed in the vigor of his Body, and his Mind, and
 unfit for that Activity which the Season required.
 And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of *New-Castle*,
 by his quick march with his Troops, as soon as he had
 received his Commission to be General, and in the
 depth of Winter, redeemed, or rescued the City of

Took from the Rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was Master of it, he raised Men apace, and drew an Army together, with which he fought many Battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) Success and Victory.

He liked the Pomp, and absolute Authority of a General well, and preserved the Dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward State, and Circumstances of it, in acts of Courtesy, Affability, Bounty, and Generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a War, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to Men of all Conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with War) nor could submit to; but referred all matters of that Nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant-General *King*; who, no doubt, was an Officer of great Experience and Ability, yet, being a *Scots-man*, was in that conjuncture, upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the General himself had been more intent upon his Command. In all Actions of the Field he was still present, and never absent in any Battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible Courage and Fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the Day, when his Troops began to give ground. Such Articles of Action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful Company, Music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion

B O O K
VIII. soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission to the Chiefst Officers of the Army, even to General *King* himself, for two days together; from whence many inconveniencies fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy-Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other Soldiers mind, that all the business ought to be done by Councils of War, and was always angry when there were any Overtures of a Treaty; and therefore especially after the Queen had Landed in *Yorkshire*, and staid so long there, he considered any Orders he received from *Oxford*, though from the King himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of *Hull*, and was sure that he should be then Master entirely of all the North, he had no mind to march nearer the King (as he had then Orders to march into the Associated Counties, when, upon the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty had a purpose to have marched towards *London* on the other side) out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the Court, and his Authority overshadowed by the Superiority of Prince *Rupert*; from whom he desired to be at distance: Yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his Army within the Walls of *York*, and saw no way to be relieved but by Prince *Rupert*, who had then done great feats of Arms in the relief of *Newark*, and afterwards in his Expedition into *Lancashire*, where he was at that time, he writ to the King to *Oxford*, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness, and illimitedness of his Commission was generally much spoken of, or

out of the Conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; “ that he hoped his Majesty did believe, that he “ would never make the least scruple to obey the “ Grand-child of King *James*: And assuredly, if the Prince had cultivated the good inclinations the Marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious Condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his Service, and Interest.

But the strange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the King's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary Engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of Life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious Actions, might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future Action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the Kingdom, and took with him General *King*; upon whom, they who were content to spare the Marquis, poured out all the Reproaches of “ Infidelity, Treason, and Conjunction “ with his Country-men;” which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal Discontent, and the miserable Condition to which the People of those Northern Parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole Course of his

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Life, been generally reputed a Man of Honor, and had exercised the highest Commands under the King of Sweden with extraordinary ability, and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his Country-men with the highest malice, from his very coming into the King's Service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the Kingdom, even to his death.

The loss of *England* came so soon to be lamented, that the loss of *York*, or the too soon deserting the Northern Parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the Marquis in the change of his Fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from Banishment, without the least application to the Usurpers, who were possessed of his whole Estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable Waste, in destroying all his Woods of very great Value, and who were still equally abhorred, and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the King's Quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good Men to him, that they rather observed, what he had Done, and suffered for the King and for his Country, without farther inquiring what he had Omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

This fatal blow, which so much changed the King's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his Majesty, but that it made him pursue his former Resolution, to follow the Earl of *Arles*, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the

Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the first News of the Earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight delivered, had left *Exeter*, and was removed into *Cornwall*; from whence, in a short time, she embarked for *France* (the Prince of *Orange* having sent some Dutch Ships of War, to attend her Commands in the Harbour of *Falmouth*; and from thence her Majesty transported herself) his Majesty marched more slowly, that he might increase his Army from *Bristol*, and other places; making no doubt, but that he should engage the Army of the Earl of *Essex*, who was already near *Exeter*, before he should be able to return to *London*.

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The Queen
retires into
France.

The Earl of *Essex*'s good Fortune now begun to decline: he had not proceeded with his accustomed wariness, and skill, but run into Labyrinths, from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had marched to the length of *Exeter*, which he had some thought of Besieging, without any imagination that he could find an Enemy to contend with him, having left the King in so ill a condition, and Sir *William Waller* with so good an Army waiting upon him, he had the News of the "disappointment Sir *William Waller* had received; and that the King " was come with his whole Army into the West in " pursuit of him, without being followed by *Waller*, " or any Troops to disquiet or retard his March;" which exceedingly surpris'd him, and made him suspect that the Parliament itself had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

The Jealousies were now indeed grown very great

B O O K VIII. between them; the Parliament looking upon his march into the West, and leaving *Waller*. to whom they intended the other Province, to follow the King. but as a Declaration that he would no more fight against the Person of the King; and the Earl, on the other side, had well observed the difference betwixt the care and affection the Parliament expressed for, and towards His Army, and the other under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of His. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that upon so little a brush as *Waller* had sustained, he could not be able to follow, and disturb the King in a Country so enclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected strait, upon the first reception of the News he resolved to return back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he entered *Devonshire*, or else in *Somersetshire*; in either of which places he could not be straitened in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this resolution, he had done prudently. But the Lord *Roberts*, who was a General-Officer in his Army, of an insociable Nature, and impetuous Disposition, full of contradiction in his Temper, and of Parts so much superior to any in the Company, that he could too well maintain and justify all these contradictions, positively opposed the return of the Army, but pressed, with His confidence, "that the Army should continue it's March to *Cornwall*." where he undertook to have so great Interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of the Earl

“ of *Effex*, with his Army, would so unite that County
 “ to the Parliament’s Service, that it would be easy to
 “ defend the passes into the whole County (which
 “ are not many) in such a manner, that the King’s
 “ Army should never be able to enter into *Cornwall*,
 “ nor to retire out of *Devonshire* without great loss,
 “ nor before the Parliament would send more Forces
 “ upon their backs.”

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The Lord *Roberts*, though inferior in the Army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of *Effex*; and the Earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with Sir *Harry Vane*, whom of all Men the Earl hated, and looked upon as an Enemy. He had never been in *Cornwall*; so he knew not the Situation of the Country: some of the Officers, and some others of that Country (as there were with him four or five Gentlemen of that Country of Interest) concurred fully with the Lord *Roberts*, and promised great matters, if the Army marched thither: whereupon the Earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, into that narrow County; and pursued Prince *Maurice* and those Forces, whicheasily retired, Westward; until he found himself in straits; where we shall leave him for the present.

The Earl of
Effex marches
 into *Cornwall*.

After the King had made a small stay at *Exeter*, where he found his young Daughter, of whom the Queen had been so lately delivered, under the Care and Government of the Lady *Dalkeith* (shortly after Countess of *Morton* by the death of her Husband’s Father) who had been long before designed by

B O O K both their Majesties to that Charge; and having a
VIII. little refreshed, and accommodated his Troops, he
 marched directly to *Cornwall*; where he found the
 Earl of *Essex* in such a part of the Country on the Sea-
 side, that he quickly, by the general Conflux and Con-
 course of the whole People, upon which the Earl had
 been persuaded so much to depend, found means,
 with very little Fighting, so to straiten his Quarters,
 that there seemed little appearance that he could
 possibly march away with his Army, or compel the
 King to Fight. He was, upon the matter, inclosed in,
 and about *Foy*; whilst the King lay encamped about
Liskard; and no day passed without some Skirmishes;
 in which the Earl was more distressed, and many of
 his principal Officers taken Prisoners. Here there
 happened an Accident that might very well have
 turned the King's Fortune, and deprived him of all
 the Advantages which were then in view. The King
 being always in the Army himself, all matters were
 still debated before him, in the presence of those
 Counsellors who were about him; who, being Men
 of better understandings and better expressions than
 the Officers, commonly disposed his Majesty to Their
 opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every
 thing which was proposed by the Officers. The
 Counsellors, as hath been said before, were the Lord
Digby, Secretary of State, and Sir *John Colepepper*,
 Master of the Rolls, of whose judgment the King had
 more esteem, even with reference to the War, than of
 most of the Officers of the Army; which raised an im-
 placable animosity in the whole Army against them.

General *Ruthen*, who by this time was Created

The King
 follows him
 thither.

Earl of *Brentford*, was General of the Army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his Age, and his extreme deafness, was not a Man of Counsel or Words; hardly conceived what was proposed, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his Eye than his Ear; and in the Field well knew what was to be done.

Wilmot was Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and at this time the second Officer of the Army, and had much more Credit and Authority in it, than any Man; which he had not employed to the King's advantage, as his Majesty believed. He was a Man Proud, and Ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary Officer in Marches, and governing his Troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great People. He had a more companionable Wit even than his Rival *Goring*, and swayed more among the good Fellows, and could by no means endure that the Lord *Digby*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, should have so much credit with the King in Councils of War.

The King had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the Earl of *Strafford*: however, he had been induced, upon the Accidents which happened afterwards, to repose trust in him. This *Wilmot* knew well enough; and foresaw, that he should be quickly overshadowed in the War; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable Peace; and so in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it. as he had begun in *Buckinghamshire*; and, "that the King ought to send Propositions to the Parliament, in order to obtaining it;" and

B O O K in this March had prosecuted his former design by
VIII. several Cabals among the Officers; and disposed them to Petition the King, “to send to the Parliament
 “again an offer of Peace; and that the Lord *Digby*,
 “and Sir *John Colepepper*, might not be permitted to
 “be present in Councils of War;” implying, “that
 “if this might not be granted, they would think of
 “some other way.” Which Petition, though, by the
 Wisdom of some Officers, it was kept from being
 delivered, yet so provoked the King, that he resolved
 to take the first opportunity to free himself from his
 impetuous humor; in which good disposition the
 Lord *Digby* ceased not to confirm his Majesty; and
 as soon as the News came of the Northern Defeat, and
 that the Marquis of *New-Castle* had left the Kingdom,
 he prevailed that *Goring* might be sent for to attend
 his Majesty; who then proposed to himself to make
 his Nephew Prince *Rupert* General of the Army, and
Goring General of the Horse; which *Wilmot* could
 not avowedly have excepted against, the other hav-
 ing been always Superior to him in Command; and
 yet would be such a Mortification to him, as he
 would never have been able to digest.

Whether his apprehensions of this, as his jealous
 nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and
 mutinous humor, transported him, but he gave not
 the King time to prosecute that gracious method;
 but even forced him to a quicker and rougher remedy:
 for during the whole March, he discoursed, in all
 places, “that the King must send to the Earl of *Essex*
 “to invite him to a Conjunction with him, so that
 “the Parliament might be obliged to consent to a

“ Peace; and pretended, that he had so good Intel-
 “ ligence in that Army, as to know that such an
 “ Invitation would prove effectual, and be acceptable
 “ to the Earl; who, he knew, was unsatisfied with
 “ the Parliament’s behaviour towards him:” and he
 was so indiscreet, as to desire a Gentleman, with
 whom he had no intimacy, and who had a Pass to go
 beyond the Seas, and must go through the Earl’s
 Quarters, “that he would remember his Service
 “ to the Earl of *Essex*; and assure him, that the Army
 “ so much desired Peace, that it should not be in the
 “ Power of any of those Persons about the King to
 “ hinder it, if his Lordship would treat upon any rea-
 “ sonable Propositions.” All which kind of carriage
 and discourses were quickly represented, in their full
 magnitude, to the King by the Lord *Digby*; and his
 Majesty’s own aversion kindled any spark into a
 formed distrust. So that after the King came into
Cornwall, and had his whole Army drawn up on the
 top of the Hill, in view of the Earl of *Essex*, who was
 in the Bottom, and a Battle expected every day, upon
 some new discourse *Wilmot* made out of Pride and
 Vanity (for there was not, in all the former, the least
 formed Act of Sedition in his heart) the Knight-
 Marshal, with the assistance of *Tom Elliot*, arrested
 him in the King’s Name of High-Treason; and dis-
 mounted him from his Horse in the head of all the
 Troops; putting a Guard upon him. He was presently
 sent Prisoner to *Exeter*, without any other ill effect,
 which might very reasonably have been apprehend-
 ed in such a conjuncture, when he was indeed gene-
 rally well beloved, and none of them for whose sakes

BOOK he was thought to be sacrificed, were at all esteemed:
 VIII. yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vanished away.

The same day that *Wilmot* was arrested, the King removed another General Officer of his Army, the Lord *Piercy*; who had been made General of the Ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated Considerations; and put into that Office the Lord *Hopton*; whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved. Besides, the Lord *Piercy* (who was the first that had been created a Baron at *Oxford* upon the Queen's Intercession; which obliged the King to bestow the same honor on more Men) had been as much inclined to mutiny, as the Lord *Wilmot*; and was much a bolder Speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling Men to him. Yet even His removal added to the ill humor of the Army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious Person, yet he had always three or four Persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he ate well; which, in the General scarcity of that time, drew many Votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his Table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on His behalf.

The very next day after these Removals, Colonel *Goring* appeared; who had waited upon the King the

night before, at this Quarters, with Letters from Prince *Rupert*: and then the Army being drawn up, his Majesty, attended by the principal Officers of the Army, rode to every Division of the Horse, and there declared, "that, at the request of his Nephew Prince *Rupert*, and upon his resignation, he made Mr. *Goring* General of the Horse; and commanded them all to obey him; and for the Lord *Wilmot*, although he had, for very good reasons, justly restrained him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his Command in the Army;" which Declaration visibly raised the countenance of the Body of Horse, more than the King was pleased with observing: and the very next day the greatest part of the Officers delivered a Petition, "that his Majesty would give them so much light of the Lord *Wilmot's* Crimes, that they might see that Themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his Orders;" which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the Army was in, when they were even in view of the Enemy, and of which the King had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was in, that he was too easily persuaded to give them a Draught of the Articles, by which he was charged: which though they contained so many Indiscretions, Vanities and Insolencies, that wise and dispassionate Men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seemed not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be; and when the Articles were sent to him, he returned so specious an Answer to them, that made many Men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough.

BOOK Yet *Wilmot* himself, when he saw his old mortal
VIII. Enemy *Goring* put in the Command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore desired leave to retire into *France*; and had presently a Pass sent him to that purpose; of which he made use as soon as he received it; and so transported himself out of the Kingdom, which opened the Mouths of many, and made it believed, that he had been sacrificed to some Faction and Intrigue of the Court, without any such misdemeanour as deserved it.

The King had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the Earl of *Essex*, from the notorious Indignities which he received from the Parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which He, and his Army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his Majesty. The Lord *Beauchamp*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Hertford*, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself into *France*; and to that purpose had a Pass from his Uncle, the Earl of *Essex*, for himself; Monsieur *Richaute* a *French*-man, who had been his Governor; and two Servants, to embark at *Plymouth*; and being now with the King, it was necessary to pass through the Earl's Quarters. By him the King vouchsafed to write a Letter with his own hand to the Earl, in which he told him:

“How much it was in his power to restore that
 “Peace to the Kingdom, which he had professed
 “always to desire; and upon such conditions, as did
 “fully comply with all those ends for which the Par-
 liament

“liament had first taken up Arms: for his Majesty
 “was still ready to satisfy all those ends; but that
 “since the Invasion of the Kingdom by the *Scots*, all
 “his Overtures of Peace had been rejected; which
 “must prove the destruction of the Kingdom, if he
 “did not, with his Authority and Power, dispose
 “those at *Westminster* to accept of a Peace that might
 “preserve it;” with all those Arguments, that might
 most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his
 Majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense
 he would always retain of the Service and Merit, as
 were most likely to invite him to it. The King desired,
 that a Pass might be procured for Mr. *Harding*, one of
 the grooms of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, a Gentle-
 man, who had been before of much conversation with
 the Earl, and much loved by him; and the procuring
 this Pass was recommended to Monsieur *Richaute*.

The Earl received his Nephew very kindly; who
 delivered the King’s Letter to him, which he received,
 and read; and being then told by the Lord *Beau-
 champ*, that Monsieur *Richaute*, was very well
 known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the
 King; the Earl called him into his Chamber, in the
 presence only of the Lord *Beauchamp*, and asked him,
 “if he had any thing to say to him?” *Richaute* told
 him, “that his principal business was to desire his Per-
 “mission and Pass, that Mr. *Harding* might come to
 “him, who had many things to offer, which, he pre-
 “sumed, would not be unacceptable to him.” The
 Earl Answered in short, “that he would not permit
 “Mr. *Harding* to come to him, nor would he have
 “any Treaty with the King, having received no

O O K " Warrant for it from the Parliament : " upon which,
 VIII. *Richaute* enlarged himself upon some particulars, which Mr. *Harding* was to have urged, " of the King's " desire of Peace, of the concurrence of all the Lords, " as well those at *Oxford*, as in the Army, in the same " desire of preserving the Kingdom from a Conquest " by the *Scots* ; " and other discourse to that purpose ; " and of the King's readiness to give him any security " for the performance of all he had promised." To all which the Earl Answered fully, " that according to the Commission he had received, he would " defend the King's Person, and Posterity ; and that " the best Counsel he could give him was , to go to " his Parliament."

As soon as the King received this Account of his Letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those Addressees, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to Fight with the Enemy as soon as was possible ; and so, the next day, drew up all his Army in sight of the Enemy ; and had many Skirmishes between the Horse of both Armies, till the Enemy quitted that part of a large Heath upon which they stood, and retired to a Hill near the Park of the Lord *Mohun*, at *Bocconnocke* ; they having the possession of his House, where they Quartered conveniently. That Night both Armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the Field ; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorously advanced upon the Enemy, to which his Army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated : for the King's Army was in good heart, and willing to engage ; on

the contrary, the Earl's seemed much surpris'd, and in confusion, to see the other Army so near them. But such censures always attend such Conjunctions, and find fault for what is Not done, as well as with that which is done. BOOK
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The next Morning the King called a Council, to consider whether they should that day compel the Enemy to Fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of Sir *Richard Greenvil*; who was yet in the West of *Cornwal*, and had a Body of eight thousand Horse and Foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon ordered, that all the Foot should be presently drawn into the Inclosures between *Boconnocke* and the Heath; all the Fences to the Grounds of that Country being very good Breast-works against the Enemy. The King's head-Quarter was made at the Lord *Mohun's* House, which the Earl of *Essex* had kindly quitted, when the King's Army advanced the day before. The Horse were Quartered, for the most part, between *Liskard* and the Sea; and, every day, compelled the Earl's Forces to retire, and to lodge closer together; and in this posture both Armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient Spirit that had possessed so many of the Horse-Officers, appeared again; and some of them, who had conferred with the Prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them Officers of as good Quality as any they had, were persuaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in *Essex*, in refusing to treat with the King, proceeded only from his jealousy that when the King had got

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“ him into his hands, he would take revenge upon him, for all the mischief he had sustained by him; and that, if he had any assurance that what was promised would be complied with, he would be quickly induced to treat.”

Upon this excellent Evidence, these Politic Contrivers presumed to prepare a Letter, that should be subscribed by the General, and all the Superior Officers of the Army; the beginning of which Letter was, “ that they had obtained leave of the King to send that Letter to him.” There they proposed, “ that He with six Officers, whom he should chuse, would the next Morning meet with their General, and six other Officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and if he would not himself be present, that then six Officers of the King’s Army should meet with six such as He should appoint, at any place that should be thought fit; and that they, and every of them, who subscribed the Letter, would, upon the honor and reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, with their Lives maintain that whatsoever his Majesty should promise, should be performed; and that it should not be in the power of any Private Person whatsoever, to interrupt or hinder the execution thereof.” When they had framed this Letter between themselves, and showed it to many others, whose approbation they received, they resolved to present it to the King, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the Earl of *Essex*.

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this Letter was,

and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his Majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were persuaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to consent that the Officers should sign it; and that the General should send a Trumpet with it; his Majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own Letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly Spirit out of his Army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious Addresses, and that it might add some Spirit and Animosity to the Officers and Soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the Earl received their application: And so Prince *Maurice*, General *Goring*, and all the Superior Officers of the Army, signed the Letter; which a Trumpet delivered to the Earl of *Essex*; who, the next day, returned his Answer to them in these words: "My Lords, in the beginning of your Letter you express by what Authority you send it: I having no Authority from the Parliament, who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust. My Lords, I am your humble Servant, *Essex*, *Lisliethiel*, Aug. 10. 1644." This short surly Answer produced the Effect the King wished and expected; they who had been so over-active in contriving the Address, were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole Army seemed well composed to obtain that by their Swords, which they could not by their Pen.

Sir *Richard Greenvil* was now come up to the Post

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where he should be; and, at *Bodmin*, in his March, had fallen upon a Party of the Earl's Horse, and killed many, and taken others Prisoners, and presented himself to the King at *Boconnocke*; giving his Majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his Forces; which, after all the high discourses, amounted really but to eighteen hundred Foot, and six hundred Horse; above one hundred of which were of the Queen's Troop (left behind when her Majesty Embarked for *France*) under the Command of Captain *Edward Bret*; who had done very good Service in the Western Parts of that County, from the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirmed the Trained-bands of those parts. This Troop was presently added to the King's Guards under the Lord *Bernard Stuart*, and Captain *Bret* was made Major of that Regiment.

Though the Earl of *Essex* had but strait and narrow room for his Quarters for so great an Army of Horse and Foot, yet he had the good Town of *Foy* and the Sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of Provisions, the Parliament-Ships having all the jurisdiction there; and so, if he preserved his Post, which was so situated that he could not be compelled to Fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that *Waller*, or some other force sent from the Parliament, would be shortly upon the King's back, as his Majesty was upon His: and no question, this rational Confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all Overtures made to him by the King; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own Nature; which whosoever

was well acquainted with, might easily have foreseen, what effect all those applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolved to make his Quarters yet straiter, and to cut off even his Provisions by Sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpose Sir *Richard Greenvil* drew his Men from *Bodmin*, and possessed himself of *Lanhetherick*, a strong House of the Lord *Roberts*, two Miles West of *Boconnocke*, and over the River that runs to *Lisithiel*, and thence to *Foy*, and likewise to *Reprime-Bridge*; by which the Enemy was not only deprived of that useful outlet, but a safe Communication made between him and the King's Army, which was before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, Sir *Jacob Astley*, with a good Party of Horse and Foot, made himself Master of *View-Hall*, another House of the Lord *Mohun's*, over against *Foy*, and of *Pernon-Fort*, a Mile below it, at the Mouth of the *Haven*; both which places he found so tenable, that he put Captain *Page* into one, and Captain *Garraway* into the other, with two hundred Commanded Men, and two or three pieces of Ordnance; which these two Captains made good, and defended so well, that they made *Foy* utterly useless to *Essex*, safe for the Quartering his Men; not suffering any Provisions to be brought in to him from the Sea that way. And it was exceedingly wondered at by all Men, that he, being so long possessed of *Foy*, did not put strong Guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his Army's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

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Now the King had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the Earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his Army, or to make his own Escape. In this posture both Armies lay still, without any notable Action, for the space of eight, or ten days; when the King seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole Army together, and to make his own Quarters yet much nearer, and either to force *Essex* to Fight, or to be uneasy even in his Quarters. And it was high time to do so: for it was now certain, that either *Waller* himself, or some other Forces, were already upon their March towards the West. With this Resolution the whole Army advanced in such a manner, that the Enemy was compelled still to retire before them, and to quit their Quarters; and, among the rest, a rising ground called *Beacon-Hill*; which they no sooner quitted, than the King possessed; and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a Battery made, upon which some pieces of Cannon were planted, that shot into their Quarters, and did them great hurt; when their Cannon, though they returned twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

And now the King's Forces had a full prospect over all the others Quarters; saw how all their Foot and Horse were disposed, and from whence they received all their Forage and Provisions; which when clearly viewed and observed, *Goring* was sent with the greatest part of the Horse and fifteen hundred Foot, a little Westward to *St. Blaise*, to drive the Enemy yet closer together, and cut off the Provisions they

received from thence; which was so well executed, that they did not only possess themselves of *St. Austel*, and the Westerly part of *St. Blase* (so that the Enemies Horse was reduced to that small extent of Earth that is between the River of *Foy*, and that at *Blase*, which is not above two Miles in breadth, and little more in length; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to *Liflithiel*, and therefore it could not now long supply them) but likewise were Masters of the *Parr* near *St. Blase*; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of Landing the Provisions which came by Sea. And now the Earl begun to be very sensible of the ill Condition he was in, and discerned that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had received advertisement that the Party which was sent for his Relief from *London*, had received some brush in *Somerſetſhire*, which would much retard their March; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new Counſels, and to take new Resolutions.

It is very true the Defeat at *Cropredy* (in which there did not appear to be one thousand Men killed, or taken Prisoners) had so totally broken *Waller's* Army, that it could never be brought to Fight after; but when he had marched at a distance from the King, to recover the broken Spirits of his Men, and heard that his Majesty was marched directly towards the West, observing likewise that every Night very many of his Men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to *London*, where he made grievous complaints against the Earl of *Effex*, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearkened

BOOK VIII. to, and his Person received, and treated, as if he had returned Victorious after having Defeated the King's Army: which was a method very contrary to what was used in the King's Quarters, where all accidental Misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

But when he went himself to *London*, or presently upon it, he sent his Lieutenant-General *Middleton* (a Person of whom We shall say much hereafter, and who lived to wipe out the Memory of the ill foot-steps of his Youth; for he was but eighteen years of Age, when he was first led into Rebellion) with a Body of three thousand Horse and Dragoons, to follow the King into the West, and to wait upon his Rear, with Orders to reduce in his way *Donnington-Castle*, the House of a private Gentleman near *Newbury*, in which there were a Company or two of Foot of the King's; and which they believed would be delivered up, as soon as demanded; being a place, as They thought, of little strength. But *Middleton* found it so well defended by Colonel *Bois*, who was Governor of it, that after he had lost at least three hundred Officers and Soldiers, in attempting to take it, he was compelled to recommend it to the Governor of *Abingdon*, to send an Officer and some Troops to block it up from infesting that great Road into the West; and himself prosecuted his March to follow the King.

In *Somersetshire*, he heard of great Magazines of all Provisions, made for the supply of the King's Army, which were sent every day by strong Convoys to *Exeter*, there to wait farther Orders. To surprise these Provisions he sent Major *Carr*, with five hundred

Horse; who fell into the Village where the Convoy was, and was very like to have Mastered them, when Sir *Francis Doddington*, with a Troop of Horse, and some Foot from *Bridgewater*, came seasonably to their Relief; and after a very sharp Conflict, in which two or three good Officers of the King's were killed, and, among them, Major *Killigrew*, a very hopeful young Man, the Son of a Gallant and most deserving Father, he totally Routed the Enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three Miles; in which Major *Carr*, who Commanded the Party, and many other Officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recovered all that they had taken: which sharp Encounters, where always many more Men are lost, than are killed, or taken Prisoners, put such a stop to *Middleton's* March, that he was glad to retire back to *Sherborne*, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the Spirits of his Men. This was the Defeat or Obstruction, which the Earl of *Essex* had Intelligence that the Forces had met with coming to his Relief; and which made him despair of any Succour that way.

When the Earl found himself in this Condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any Provisions for his Army; he resolved, that Sir *William Balfour* should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole Body of Horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would Embark his Foot at *Foy*, and with them escape by Sea. And two Foot-Soldiers of the Army, whereof one was a *French-man*, came over from them, and assured the King, "that they intended, that Night,

B O O K " to break through with their Horse , which were all
VIII. " then drawn on that side the River and Town of
 " *Lisliethiel* ; and that the Foot were to march to *Foy*,
 " where they should be Embarked." This Intelligence
 agreed with what they otherwise received , and was
 believed as it ought to be ; and thereupon, order was
 given , " that both Armies (for that under Prince
 " *Maurice* was looked upon as distinct , and always
 " so Quartered) should stand to their Arms all that
 " Night ; and if the Horse attempted an escape, fall
 " on them from both Quarters ;" the passage between
 them , through which they must go , being but a
 Musquet-shot over ; and they could not avoid going
 very near a very little Cottage, that was well Fortified ;
 in which fifty Musqueteers were placed. Advertise-
 ment was sent to *Goring* , and all the Horse ; and
 the Orders renewed, which had formerly been given,
 for the breaking down the Bridges. and cutting down
 the Trees near the high-way, to obstruct their passage.

Balfour with
 the Earl of
 Essex's Horse
 escapes thro'
 the King's
 Army.

The effect of all this Providence was not such as
 was reasonably to be expected. The Night grew dark
 and misty, as the Enemy could wish ; and about three
 in the Morning, the whole Body of the Horse passed
 with great Silence between the Armies, and within
 Pistol-shot of the Cottage , without so much as one
 Musquet discharged at them. At the break of Day,
 the Horse were discovered marching over the Heath,
 beyond the reach of the Foot ; and there was only
 at hand the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, the Body of
 the King's Horse being at a greater distance. That
 Brigade, to which some other Troops which had
 taken the Alarm joined , followed them in the Rear ;

and killed some, and took more Prisoners: But stronger Parties of the Enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole Body often making a stand, they were often compelled to retire; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred; which was the greatest damage they sustained in their whole March. The Notice and Orders came to *Goring*, when he was in one of his jovial Exercises; which he received with mirth, and slighting those who sent them, as Men who took Alarms too warmly; and he continued his delights, till all the Enemies Horse were passed through his Quarters; nor did then pursue them in any time. So that, excepting such who, by the tiring of their Horses, became Prisoners, *Balfour* continued his March even to *London*, with less loss or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite Reproach of the King's Army, and of all his Garrisons in the way. Nor was any Man called in question for this supine neglect; it being not thought fit to make severe inquisition into the behaviour of the rest, when it was so notoriously known, how the Superior Officer had failed in his duty.

The next Morning, after the Horse were gone, the Earl drew all his Foot together, and quitted *Lisithiel*, and marched towards *Foy*; having left order for the breaking down that Bridge. But his Majesty himself from his new Fort discerned it, and sent a Company of Musqueteers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserved the Bridge; over which the King presently marched to overtake the Rear of the Army, which marched so fast, yet in good Order, that they left two Demi-Culverins, and two other

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very good Guns, and some Ammunition, to be disposed of by the King. That day was spent in smart Skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the King's Horse had been more, whereof he had only two Troops of his Guards (which did good Service) it would have proved a Bloody day to the Enemy. The Night coming on, the King lay in the Field, his own Quarters being so near the Enemy, that they discharged many Cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at Supper. *Sunday* being the next day, and the first day of *September*, in the Morning, *Butler*, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Essex*, who had been taken Prisoner at *Boconnocke*, and was exchanged for an Officer of the King's, came from the Earl to desire a Parley. As soon as he was sent away, the Earl Embarked himself, with the Lord *Roberts*, and such other Officers as he had most kindness for, in a Vessel at *Foy*; and so escaped into *Plymouth*; leaving all his Army of Foot, Cannon, and Ammunition, to the care of Major-General *Skippon*; who was to make as good Conditions for them as he could; and after a very short stay in *Plymouth*, he went on board a Ship of the Royal Navy, that attended there; and was, within few days, delivered at *London*; where he was received without any abatement of the respect they had constantly paid him; nor was it less than they could have showed to him, if he had not only brought back his own Army, but the King himself likewise with him.

The Earl of
Essex leaves
his Army,
and escapes to
Plymouth
by Sea.

Skippon
makes Con-
ditions for
the Foot.

The King consented to the Parley; upon which a Cessation was concluded; and Hostages interchangeably delivered; and then the Enemy sent Proposi-

tions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified Town, after a handsome defence are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked upon as Men in that Condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their Cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight-and-thirty pieces of Cannon; a hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable; and about six thousand Arms; which being done, “the Officers were to have liberty to wear their Swords, and to pass with their own Money, and proper Goods; and to secure them from Plunder, they were to have a Convoy to *Poole*, or *Southampton*; all their sick and wounded might stay in *Foy* till they were recovered, and then have Passes to *Plymouth*.”

This Agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of *September*, and though it was near the Evening before all was finished, they would march away that Night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from Violence, yet first at *Lisliethiel*, where they had been long Quartered, and in other Towns through which they had formerly passed, the Inhabitants, especially the Women, who pretended to see their own Clothes and Goods about them, which they had been plundered of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the Soldiers, and more of their Wives, who had before behaved themselves with great Insolence in the march. That Night there came about one hundred of them to the King's Army, and of the six thousand, for so many marched out of *Foy*, there did not a third

B O O K part come to *Southampton*; where the King's Convoy
VIII. left them; to which *Skippon* gave a large Testimony
 under his hand, "that they had carried themselves
 " with great Civility towards them, and fully com-
 " plied with their obligation."

Affairs at
 Oxford during
 the King's
 absence.

Whilst the King was in the West, though he had left *Oxford* in a very ill State in respect of Provisions and Fortifications, and Soldiers, and of the different humors of those who remained there, the Town being full of Lords (besides those of the Council) and of Persons of the best Quality, with very many Ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so; yet, in his absence, they who were solicitous to carry on his Service, concurred and agreed so well together, that they prevailed with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caused Provisions of Corn to be laid in, in great proportions; assigning the Public Schools to that purpose; and committing the Custody of them to the owners of the Corn. They had raised so many Volunteers, that their Guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so; for when both the Parliament-Armies were before the Town, Major General *Brown*, a Citizen of *London* of good Reputation, and a stout Man, had been left in *Abingdon* with a strong Garrison; from whence, being superior in number, he infested *Oxford* very much; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the Fortifications, which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection, and when they had no more apprehension of a Siege, *Waller* being at a distance, and not able to follow the King, and less
 able

able to sit down before *Oxford*, they resolved to do somewhat to be talked of. B O O K
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The King had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their Governor, and very apprehensive of his Rudeness, and want of Complacency. Upon the death of Sir *William Penniman*, who had been Governor of *Oxford*, to the great satisfaction of all Men, being a very brave and generous Person, and who performed all manner of Civilities to all sorts of People, as having had a good Education, and well understanding the manners of the Court (the Queen being then in *Oxford*) her Majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge, and care of a Roman Catholic, prevailed with the King, to confer that charge upon Sir *Arthur Aston*; who had been at *Reading*, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed, where he was Not known; and very much disliked, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at *Oxford*, to be beloved by any; which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his Majesty had given an extraordinary Commission to the Lords of his Council, to whose Authority he was to submit, which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a Man of a rough Nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of Money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some Officers of Name, who, having then no charge in the Army, staid in the Town; and those, by the

BOOK VIII. King's direction, the Lords disposed to assist the Governor; and particularly, to take care of the several Quarters of the Town; one whereof was assigned to each of them: among them, Colonel Gage was one; who having the *English* Regiment in *Flanders*, had got leave there to make offer of his Service to the King; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to *Oxford*.

He was in truth a very extraordinary Man, of a large and very graceful Person, of an Honorable extraction, his Grandfather having been Knight of the Garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a Soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good Scholar in the polite parts of Learning, a great Master in the *Spanish* and *Italian* Tongues, besides the *French* and the *Dutch*, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in *England* in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in Courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the Arch-Duke and Dutches, *Albert* and *Isabella*, at *Brussels*; which was a great and very regular Court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished Person. Of this Gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be Besieged; and thought *Oxford* to be the more secure for His being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the Governor, Sir *Arthur*, that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of Natures, and Manners, as different as Men can be.

The Garrison of *Basing-House*, the Seat of the Marquis of *Winchester*, in which himself was and commanded, had been now straitly besieged, for the space of above three Months, by a conjunction of the Parliament-Troops of *Hampshire* and *Sussex*, under the Command of *Norton*, *Orslow*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, and *Morley*, all Colonels of Regiments, and now united in this Service under the Command of *Norton*; a Man of Spirit, and of the greatest Fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the King's March into the West, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the King sent Notice to *Oxford* of his resolution to march into the West, the Council humbly desired his Majesty, "that he would make *Basing* his "way," and thereby relieve it, which his Majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited *Waller* the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time, the Marquis, by frequent expresses, importuned the Lords of the Council "to provide, in some manner "for his relief; and not to suffer his Person, and a "place from whence the Rebels received so much "prejudice, to fall into their hands." The Lady *Marchioness*, his Wife, was then in *Oxford*; and solicited very diligently the timely preservation of her Husband; which made every body desire to gratify her, being a Lady of great Honor and Alliance, as Sister to the Earl of *Essex*, and to the Lady *Marchioness* of *Hertford*; who was likewise in the Town, and engaged her Husband to take this business to heart: and all the Roman-Catholics, who were

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Colonel Gage
relieves
Basing-House.

B O O K numerous in the Town, looked upon themselves as
VIII. concerned to contribute all they could to the good
 work, and so offered to lift themselves, and their
 Servants in the Service.

The Council, both upon public and private motives, was very heartily disposed to effect it; and had several conferences together, and with the Officers; in all which the Governor too reasonably opposed the design, "as full of more difficulties, "and liable to greater damages, than any Soldier "who understood Command, would expose himself and the King's Service to;" and protested, "that he would not suffer any of the small Garrison "that was under his charge, to be hazarded in the "attempt." It was very true, *Basing* was near forty Miles from *Oxford* and, in the way between them, the Enemy had a strong Garrison of Horse and Foot at *Abingdon*. and as strong at *Reading*, whose Horse every day visited all the Highways near, besides a Body of Horse and Dragoons Quartered at *Newbury*; so that it appeared to most Men hardly possible to send a Party to *Basing*, and impossible for that Party to return to *Oxford*, if they should be able to get to *Basing*: yet new importunities from the Marquis, with a positive Declaration, "that he could not "defend it above ten days, and must then submit to "the worst conditions the Rebels were like to grant "to his Person, and to his Religion;" and new instances from his Lady, prevailed with the Lords to enter upon a new consultation; in which the Governor persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

In this Debate Colonel *Gage* declared, “ that
 “ though he thought the Service full of hazard,
 “ especially for the return; yet if the Lords would,
 “ by lifting their own Servants, persuade the Gen-
 “ tlemen in the Town to do the like, and engage
 “ their own Persons, whereby a good Troop or two
 “ of Horse might be raised (upon which the principal
 “ dependance must be) he would willingly, if there
 “ were no body else thought fitter for it, undertake
 “ the conduct of them himself; and hoped he should
 “ give a good account of it:” which being offered
 with great cheerfulness by a Person, of whose Pru-
 dence, as well as Courage, they had a full confidence,
 they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their
 power to make it effectual.

There was about this time, by the surrender of
Greenland-House (which could not possibly be longer
 defended, the whole structure being beaten down
 by the Cannon) the Regiment of Colonel *Hawkins*
 marched into *Oxford*, amounting to near three Hun-
 dred; to which as many others joined as made it up
 four hundred Men. The Lords mounted their Ser-
 vants upon their own Horses; and they, with the
 Volunteers, who frankly lifted themselves, amounted
 to a Body of two hundred and fifty very good Horse,
 all put under the Command of Colonel *William Web*,
 an excellent Officer, bred up in *Flanders* in some
 emulation with Colonel *Gage*; and who, upon the
 Catholic Interest, was at this time contented to serve
 under him. With this small Party for so great an
 Action, *Gage* marched out of *Oxford* in the begin-
 ning of the Night; and, by the Morning, reached

BOOK the place where he intended to refresh himself and his
 VIII. Troops; which was a Wood near *Wallingford*; from whence he despatched an Express to Sir *William Ogle*, Governor of *Winchester*; who had made a promise to the Lords of the Council, "that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the
 " Siege before *Basing* he would send one hundred
 " Horse and three hundred Foot out of his Garrison for their Assistance;" and a presumption upon this aid was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed, at What hour in the Morning his Party should fall into *Basing-Park*, in the Rear of the Rebels-Quarters; whilst *Gage* himself would fall on the other side; the Marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent Sallies from the House.

After some hours of refreshment in the Morning, and sending this Express to *Winchester*, the Troops marched through by Lanes to *Aldermaston*, a Village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that Night. They had marched, from the time they left *Oxford*, with Orange-Tawny Scarfs and Ribbons, that they might be taken for the Parliament-Soldiers; and hoped, by that Artifice, to have passed undiscovered even to the approach upon the Besiegers. But the Party of Horse which was sent before to *Aldermaston*, found there some of the Parliament-Horse, and forgetting their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven Prisoners; whereby the secret was discovered, and notice quickly sent to *Basing* of the approaching danger; which accident made their

stay shorter at that Village than was intended, and than the weariness of the Soldiers required. About eleven of the Clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that Night; the Horsemen often alighting, that the Foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary, and furbated.

Between four and five of the Clock on *Wednesday* Morning, it having been *Monday* Night that they left *Oxford*, they arrived within a Mile of *Basing*; where an Officer, sent from Sir *William Ogle*, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send his " Troops so far, in regard many of the Enemies " Horse lay between *Winchester* and *Basing*." This broke all the Colonel's measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole Method of his proceedings; and instead of dividing his Forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the *Winchester* Forces had complied with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscovered, he resolved, now to fall on jointly with all his Body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the Men to be ranged in Battalions; and rid to every Squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every Man to tie a white Tape-Ribbon, or Handkerchief above the Elbow of their right Arm; and gave them the word *St. George*; which was the sign and the word that he had sent before to the Marquis, lest in his Sallies their Men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

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Thus they marched towards the House, Colonel *Web* leading the right Wing, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bunkley* the left of the Horse; and *Gage* himself the Foot: they had not marched far, when at the upper End of a large Campaign - Field, upon a little rising of an Hill, they discerned a Body of five Cornets of Horse very full standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the Colonel must pass between two Hedges lined very thick with Musqueteers; from whom the Horse very Courageously bore a smart Volley, and then Charged the Enemies Horse so Galantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known Courage of *Norton*, though many of his Men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The Foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from Hedge to Hedge, retired into their Quarters and Works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the House was gained on that side, where the Colonel only stayed to salute the Marquis, and to put in the Ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve Barrels of Powder, and twelve hundred weight of Match; and immediately marched with his Horse and Foot to *Basing-stoke*, a good Market-Town two Miles from the House; leaving one hundred Foot to be led, by some Officers of the Garrison, to the Town of *Basing*, a Village but a Mile distant. In *Basing-stoke*, they found store of Wheat, Malt, Oats, Salt, Bacon, Cheese, and Butter; as much of which, was all that day sent to

the House, as they could find Carts or Horses to transport, together with fourteen Barrels of Powder, and some Musquets, and forty or fifty head of Cattle, with above one hundred Sheep: whilst the other Party, that went to *Basing* - Town, beat the Enemy that was Quartered there, after having killed forty or fifty of them; some fled into the Church, where they were quickly taken Prisoners; and, among them, two Captains, *Jarvis* and *Jephson*, the two eldest Sons of two of the greatest Rebels of that Country, and both Heirs to good Fortunes, who were carried Prisoners to *Basing* - House; the rest, who Besieged that side, being fled into a strong Fort which they had raised in the Park. The Colonel spent that, and the next day, in sending all manner of Provisions into the House; and then reasonably computing that the Garrison was well provided for two Months, he thought of his retreat to *Oxford*; which it was time to do: for besides that *Norton* had drawn all his Men together, who had been dismayed, with all the Troops, which lay Quartered within any distance, and appeared within sight of the House more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted, he was likewise well informed by the Persons he had employed, that the Enemy from *Abingdon* had lodged themselves at *Aldermaston*, and those from *Reading* and *Newbury*, in two other Villages upon the River *Kennet*; over which he was to pass.

Hereupon, that he might take away the Apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out Orders, which he was sure would come into the

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VIII. Enemies hands, to two or three Villages next the House, "that they should, by the next day noon, send such proportions of Corn into *Basing*-House, as were mentioned in the Warrants; upon pain, if they failed by the time, to have a thousand Horse and Dragoons sent to fire the Towns." This being done, and all his Men drawn together about eleven of the Clock at Night, *Thursday* the second Night after he came thither, the Marquis giving him two or three Guides who knew the Country exactly, he marched from *Basing* without sound of Drum or Trumpet, and passed the *Kennet*, undiscovered, by a Ford near a Bridge which the Enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the Horse taking the Foot *en Groupe*; and then, marching by ways, in the Morning they likewise passed over the *Thames*, at a Ford little more than a Mile from *Reading*; and so escaped the Enemy, and got before Night to *Wallingford*; where he securely rested, and refreshed his Men that Night; and the next Day arrived safe at *Oxford*; having lost only two Captains, and two or three other Gentlemen, and Common-Men; in all to the number of eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously: what number the Enemy lost could not be known; but it was believed, they lost many, besides above one hundred Prisoners that were taken; and it was confessed, by Enemies as well as Friends, that it was as Soldierly an Action, as had been performed in the War on either side; and redounded very much to the reputation of the Commander.

The next day after the Army of *Essex* was gone,

and dissolved, the King returned to his Quarters at *Boconnocke*, and stayed there only a day to refresh his Men; having sent, the day before, *Greenvil*, with the *Cornish* Horse and Foot, towards *Plymouth*, to join with *Goring* in the pursuit of *Balfour*, and that Body of Horse; which, by passing over the Bridge near *Salt-ash*, they might easily have done. But he slackened his march that he might possess *Salt-ash*, which the Enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of Cannon with some Arms and Ammunition; which, together with the Town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joining with *Goring*; who thereby, and for want of those Foot, excused his not fighting with *Balfour* when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a Commanded Party to follow his Rear, and in that too eager a pursuit, Captain *Sam. Wainman*, a young Man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the Son of a very wise and eminent Father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a Noble Family. Thus *Balfour*, by an orderly and well governed march, passed above one hundred Miles in the King's Quarters, at hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

The fear and apprehension of the Enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, “ that the
“ King had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that Body of Foot; and that he might well
“ have forced them to have submitted to his mercy,
“ as well as to have laid down their Arms; and so
“ have made both Officers and Soldiers to become

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“ Prisoners of War: by which the Enemy would not
“ have been able so soon to have raised another
“ Army.” But they who undertook to censure that
Action, how great a Number soever they were, did
not at all understand the present temper and constitu-
tion of the King’s Army; which then was not near so
strong as it was reputed to be: whatever it might
have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it
first entered *Cornwall*, which was in the beginning of
August, and when a Party of his Majesty’s Horse sur-
prised and seized the Earl of *Essex*’s own Lieutenant-
Colonel, and many other Officers of Name at *Bocon-
nocke*, before his Majesty was suspected to be in any
near distance: I say whatever might have been then
done, in that consternation the Enemy was then in,
the case was very much altered in the beginning
of *September*, when the Articles were made; and
when the number of the Foot who laid down their
Arms, was in truth superior to those of the King’s (as
it will appear anon) when his Army marched out of
Cornwall. The oversight, which was a great one, was
on the other side, when their Horse broke through.
If they had then known, and it was hardly possible
they should not know it, that all the King’s Horse,
his Guard only excepted, were at that time Quartered
behind them, about *St. Blaise*, their Foot might
very well have marched away with their Horse, their
Cannon only being left behind, and having got but
four or five hours before, which they might easily,
and as undiscerned have done, the King’s Army in
the Condition and state it was in, naked and unshod,
would through those inclosed parts, narrow Lanes,

and deep Ditches, in *Devon* and *Somerset*, have been able to have done them little harm: Besides the King very well knew at the time the Articles were made, that *Middleton*, notwithstanding all his Affronts, was then come to *Tiverton*; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his Majesty, in those condescensions, proceeded with no less Prudence than Clemency.

After this great Success, the King thought fit to renew his offer of Peace; and sent a Message to the two Houses of Parliament, to desire that there might be a Treaty to that purpose; which Message was sent by a Trumpet to the Earl of *Essex*, after his repair to *London*, to be delivered by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three Months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was persuaded, in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon *Plymouth*; for so far it might be presumed that the *Cornish* Troops how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him: And if he could, by appearing before it, become Master of it, which was not thought improbable, he might return to *Oxford* in great Triumph, and leave the West thoroughly reduced: for then *Lyme* could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an Army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a Summons to the Town, and received a rude Answer to it:

For the Earl of *Essex* had left the Lord *Roberts* Governor in that Town; a Man of a sour and surly Nature, a great Opiniâtre, and one who must be

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The King
send a Message
of Peace.

B O O K overcome before he would believe that he could be
VIII. so. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the Town would require some time, pursued his former Resolution, and marched away; having committed the Blocking up of *Plymouth* to Sir *Richard Greenville*, a Man who had been bred a Soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of Assurance undertaken to take the Town by *Christmas*, if such Conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; whilst he made his Quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the Town; beginning his War first upon his Wife, who had been long in possession of her own Fortune, by virtue of a Decree in *Chancery*, many years before the Troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself Master of all Their Estates who were in the Service of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the Town; only upon the first Message between the Lord *Roberts* and Him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never Civility or Quarter observed between them; but such as were taken on either side, were put to the Sword; or which was worse, to the Halter.

Since there will be often occasion to mention this Gentleman, Sir *Richard Greenville*, in the ensuing discourse, and because many Men believed, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the King's

The King
 leaves Sir
 Richard
 Greenville
 to Block up
 Plymouth.

Service some Months before the time We are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy Family in *Cornwal*, which had, in several Ages, produced Men of great Courage, and very signal in their Fidelity to, and Service of the Crown; and was Himself younger Brother (though in his Nature, or Humor, not of Kin to him) to the brave Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who so Courageously lost his Life in the Battle of *Lansdown*. Being a younger Brother, and a very young Man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the Profession of a Soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest General of that Age, Prince *Maurice*, in the Regiment of my Lord *Vere*, who was General of all the *English*. In that Service he was looked upon as a Man of Courage, and a diligent Officer, in the quality of a Captain, to which he attained after few years Service. About this time, in the end of the Reign of King *James*, the War broke out between *England* and *Spain*; and in the Expedition to *Cadiz*, this Gentleman served as a Major to a Regiment of Foot, and continued in the same Command, in the War that soon after followed against *France*; and, at the Isle of *Re*, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the General in that Invasion, and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made Colonel of a Regiment with general Approbation, and as an Officer that well deserved it.

His Credit every day increased with the Duke; who, out of the generosity of his Nature, as a most generous Person he was, resolved to raise his Fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his coun-

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VIII. tenance, and solicitation, he prevailed with a rich Widow to Marry him, who had been a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and though she had no great Dower by her Husband, a younger Brother of the Earl of *Suffolk*, yet she inherited a fair Fortune of her own, near *Plymouth*; and was besides very rich in a Personal Estate and was looked upon as the richest Match of the West. This Lady, by the Duke's Credit, Sir *Richard Greenvil* (for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) obtained; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful Estate upon the Borders of his own Country; where his own Family had great Credit and Authority. The War being quickly at an end, and he deprived of his great Patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the Fortune of his Wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expense a Person of his Quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his Vanity and Ambition; nor so great as He, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her Fortune, he grew less pleased with his Wife; who, being a Woman of a Haughty and Imperious Nature, and of a Wit superior to His, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him; and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these Domestic unfociable Contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her Estate, as the Sole Master of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any Competency for herself; and indulged to himself all those Licences in her own House, which to Women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw herself

her self from him; and was with all kindness received into that Family, in which she had before been Married, and was always very much respected.

Her Absence was not ungrateful to him, till the Tenants refused to pay him any more Rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole Estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appeared now, that she had, before her Marriage with him, settled her entire Fortune so absolutely upon the Earl of *Suffolk*, that the present right was in Him, and he required the Rents to be paid to him. This begot a Suit in the Chancery between Sir *Richard Greenvil* and the then Earl of *Suffolk*, before the Lord *Coventry*, who found the Conveyances in Law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve Sir *Richard Greenvil* in Equity, but that in Justice he must Decree the Land to the Earl; which he did. This very sensible Mortification transported him so much, that, being a Man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a Personal Conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious Language, as the Government, and Justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished; and the Earl appealed for Reparation to the Court of Star-Chamber; where Sir *Richard* was Decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise fined the Sum of three thousand pounds to the King; who gave the Fine likewise to the Earl: so that Sir *Richard* was committed to the Prison of the Fleet in Execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all Men to be a very severe and

BOOK rigorous Decree, and drew a general Compassion
VIII. towards the unhappy Gentleman.

After he had endured many years of strict Imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late Troubles, he made his escape out of the Prison; and transporting himself beyond the Seas, remained there till the Parliament was called that produced so many Miseries to the Kingdom; and when he heard that many Decrees which had been made, in that time, by the Court of Star-Chamber, were repealed, and the Persons grieved, absolved from those Penalties, he likewise returned, and petitioned to have his Cause heard; for which a Committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*. Among the first Troops that were raised, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the Parliament (to whom the King had unhappily committed the prosecution of it) Sir *Richard Greenvil*, upon the fame of being a good Officer, was sent over with a very good Troop of Horse; was Major of the Earl of *Leicester's* own Regiment of Horse, and was very much esteemed by him, and the more by the Parliament, for the signal acts of Cruelty he did every day commit upon the *Irish*; which were of so many kinds upon both Sexes, Young and Old, hanging old Men who were Bedrid, because they would not discover where their Money was that he believed they had; and old Women, some of Quality, after he had plundered them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believed though notoriously known to be true.

After the Cessation was made in *Ireland*, he pretended that his Conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament, for declaring so heartily against that Cessation; and Sir *William Waller* being in the beginning of this year to make his Expedition into the West, after the Battle of *Alresford*, Sir *Richard Greenvil* was either commended to him, or invited by him, to Command the Horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his Interest in *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*, would advance Theirs. He received from the Parliament a great Sum of Money, for the making his Equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary Lustre; and Sir *William Waller* communicated to him all his designs, with the ground and foundation of them, as to an entire Friend, and an Officer of that Eminence. by whose Advice he meant to govern his own Conduct.

His first and principal design was to surprize *Basing-House*, by a correspondence with the Lord *Edward Pawlet*, Brother to the Marquis of *Winchester*, and then with him, as unsuspected as a Brother ought to be. For the better execution of this, Sir *Richard Greenvil* was sent before with a Body of the Horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time *Waller* himself should come to him. He appointed a Rendezvous for the Horse at *Bagshot*, and the same day marched out of *London* only with his Equipage; which was very Noble; a Coach and six Horses, a Waggon and six Horses, many Led-Horses, and many Servants: with those, when he

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came to *Stanes*, he left the *Bagshot*-road, and marched directly to *Reading*, where the King's Garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to *Oxford*, where he was very graciously received by the King, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the King the whole design, of the surprise of *Basing*; upon which the King sent an Express immediately to the Marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his Brother, and the other Conspirators; who confessed all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The Marquis prevailed with the King, that he might only turn his Brother out of the Garrison, after Justice was done upon his Complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery, preserved that important place; which, without it, had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the Person of the Discoverer; upon whom the Parliament thundered out all those reproaches, which his deserting them in such a manner was liable to; and denounced all those judgments upon him of Attainder, Confiscation, and incapacity of Pardon, which they used to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incensed: which was all the excuse he could make for his severe proceedings against those of their Party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he Commanded.

From *Oxford* he went quickly into the West, before he had any Command there; declaring that he would assist Colonel *Digby*; who, upon Prince *Maurice's* departure from thence with his Army, was left to

Block up *Plymouth*; which he did with much Courage and Soldierly ability. To Him he had Letters from the King, that he should put Sir *Richard Greenvil* into the possession of his Wife's Estate, that lay within his Quarters, and which was justly liable to a Sequestration by her living in *London*, and being too zealously of that Party; which the Colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that Estate; which was what he most set his Heart upon.

One day he made a Visit from his House, which he called his own, to the Colonel; and dined with him; and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen Troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the Garrison, in their usual Excursions, might meet with him. In his return home, he saw four or five fellows, coming out of a Neighbour-Wood, with Burdens of Wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the Troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were Soldiers of the Garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest; which, to save his own Life, he was contented to do: so strong his Appetite was to those Executions he had been accustomed to in *Ireland*, without any kind of Commission or pretence of Authority.

Shortly after, upon a Sally made with Horse and Foot from the Town, Colonel *Digby* (who besides the keeness of his Courage had a more composed understanding, and less liable to fumes, than some of his Family who had sharper Parts) Charging them with such vigor as Routed, and drove them back, received himself in the close an unhappy wound,

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with a Rapier, in the Eye; which pierced near his Brain; so that, though he was brought off by his Soldiers, it was very long before he recovered enough to endure the Air, and never did the effects of the Wound. Upon this accident Sir *Richard Greenville* was placed in that Command, which he executed for some Months; until, upon the Advance of the Earl of *Essex*, he was compelled to retire into *Cornwall*, where We found him at the King's coming thither.

This so large excursion upon a private Person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much Animosity against the memory of a Man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the King's Service: But they who know the Occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the Prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the World, and prevailed with some good Men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the Council then about the Prince had some Personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a Man's Original, Nature, Manners, and Disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

The King was now most intent to return into his Winter-Quarters at *Oxford*, which was all he could propose to himself; in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged Enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that *Water* was even ready to come out of *London*, and

that *Middleton* was retired from *Tiverton* to join with him; that they had sent for the Earl of *Manchester* to march towards the West with his Victorious Army: So that, if he long deferred his march, he must look to Fight another Battle, before he could reach *Oxford*. Notwithstanding all which, his Army that had been upon hard duty; and had made long marches above six Months together, required some rest and refreshment; the Foot were without Clothes, and Shoes; and the Horse in such ill humor, that without Money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the King marched from *Plymouth*, himself, attended only by his own Troop, and the principal Officers of the Court, went to *Exeter*; appointing the Army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be Quartered at *Tiverton*, and the other Towns adjacent; where they arrived on the 21st of *September*.

His Majesty now quickly discerned how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessened and diminished his Army. His own Body of Foot, which when he entered *Cornwall*, were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and Prince *Maurice's*, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the King first viewed them at *Kirton*, was not now half the Number. Of all the Forces under *Greenvil*, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the Name of an Army, there were only five hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse left with him, for the Blocking up *Plymouth*; the rest were dwindled away; or else, which was

BOOK his usual Artifice, he had encouraged them to stay
VIII. for some time in *Cornwall*, and then to repair to him,
 as many of them did; for his Forces suddenly increas-
 ed; and the truth is, few of the *Cornish* marched
 Eastward with the King. The King's Horse were
 harassed, and many of them dead in the marches;
 which contributed to the discontent of the Riders;
 so that great Provisions were to be made before they
 could begin a new march. By the diligence and acti-
 vity of the Commissioners, appointed in *Devonshire*
 for those Affairs, his Majesty was within few days
 supplied with two thousand pounds in Money, which
 was presently distributed among the Horse; and
 three thousand Suits of Clothes, with good pro-
 portions of Shoes and Stockings; which were like-
 wise delivered to the Foot. What remained yet want-
 ing for the Horse and Foot, was promised to meet
 them, upon their first entrance into *Somersetshire*;
 where the Commissioners of that County, had under-
 taken they should be ready.

There was another thing of equal importance to
 be provided for, before the King left *Exeter*; which
 was, the Blocking up the Troops of *Lyne*; which
 were grown more insolent by the Success they had
 Had; and made Incursions sometimes even to the
 Walls of *Exeter*; and to restrain a stronger Garrison
 in *Taunton*. For when Prince *Maurice* raised his Siege
 from *Lyne*, he had very unhappily drawn out the
 Garrison of *Taunton*, which consisted of eight hundred
 Men, under the Command of Sir *John Stawel*, a
 Person of that Eminent Courage and Fidelity, that
 he would never have given it up; and left only four-

score Men in the Castle to be kept by a Lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as *Essex* in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffered Death. And it was now, by the Garrison the Earl put into it, and the extreme Malignity and Pride of the Inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, become a sharp Thorn in the sides of all that Populous County.

To remedy the first of these, some Troops which depended upon the Garrison of *Exeter*, were assigned, and were to receive Orders from Sir *John Berkeley*, Governor thereof; who was the more vacant for that Service by the reduction of *Barnstable*; which was done during the King's stay at *Exeter*. The other of *Taunton*, was more unhappily committed to Colonel *Windham*, the Governor of *Bridgewater*; who, though a Gentleman of known Courage and unquestionable Fidelity, by the Divisions and Factions in the Country, was not equal to the work. To despatch all this, the King staid not a full week at *Exeter*; but hastened his march to *Chard* in *Somersetshire*, where he staid longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reached *Oxford*, before the Enemy was in a Conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the Money and Clothes (which the Commissioners of *Somersetshire* promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the Army.

It was the last of *September*, that the King marched from *Chard*; and Quartered that Night at a House

B O O K of the Lord *Pawlet's*, where Prince *Rupert* met him,
VIII. and gave him an account of the unhappy Affairs of the North, and that he had left about two thousand Horse under the Command of Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the King would have had a glorious end of his Western Expedition. Prince *Rupert* presently returned to *Bristol*, with Orders, as soon as was possible, to march with those Northern Horse under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and two thousand Foot, which were in *Wales*, under Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, into *Glocestershire*; by which the Enemy might be obliged to divide their Force, which if they should still keep united, the Prince from thence would be able to join with the King: But these Orders were not executed in time. The King's Army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred Foot, and about four thousand Horse; and *Waller* was already come with his Horse to *Blandford*; but some of his Troops being beaten up by those of the King's, he retired to *Shaftsbury*, and those parts of *Wiltshire* adjacent. It concerned the King very much, before he left those parts, to Relieve *Portland-Castle*, which had been now Besieged from the time of the Earl of *Essex's* march that way. To that purpose, he marched to *Sherborne*; where he staid six days too long, though in that time he raised the Siege before *Portland-Castle*, if he had not hoped by that delay that his Nephew Prince *Rupert* would have been well advanced in his march. Sir *Lewis Dives* was left with his own Regiment of one hundred and fifty old Soldiers,

and some Horse in *Sherborne-Castle*, and made Commander in Chief of *Dorsetshire*; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity and the very good affection of that County, to raise Men enough to recover *Weymouth*: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His Majesty had a great desire, in his march to *Oxford*, to relieve *Donnington-Castle*, and *Basing*; which was again Besieged by almost the whole Army of the Enemy; and then to send a good Party to relieve *Banbury*, which had been close Besieged by Colonel *John Fiennes*, another Son of the Lord *Say*, with all the Forces of *Northamptonshire*, *Warwick*, and *Coventry*; and bravely defended by Sir *William Compton*, full three Months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

In order to preserve all this, the King came to *Salisbury* upon the fifteenth of *October*; where he understood, "that *Waller* lay at *Andover* with his "Troops; that *Manchester* was advanced as far as " *Reading* with five thousand Horse and Foot, and "four-and-twenty pieces of Ordnance; and that four "Regiments of the Trained-bands of *London*, were "beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the Horse and Foot of the Earl of *Essex's* "Army were near *Portsmouth*, expecting Orders to "join with the rest." This might very well have disposed his Majesty to have hastened his march to *Oxford*, which would have made a fair conclusion of the Campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the King received Letters from Prince *Rupert*, in which he declared, "that it was not

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“ possible for him to bring up his Troops so soon as his Majesty expected ;” and indeed as his present condition required : and if this had been resolved , both *Donnington-Castle* , and *Banbury* , might have been seasonably set at liberty ; but a great gaiety possessed *Goring* . that he earnestly advised the King to march , with secrecy and expedition , to beat *Waller* ; who lay at *Andover* . a good distance from the rest , with three thousand Horse and Dragoons ; which the King , upon the unanimous consent of the Council , consented to .

He had left all the Cannon that he had taken from *Essex* , in *Exeter* ; and now he sent all his great Cannon to a Garrison he had within two Miles of *Salisbury* at *Langford* , a House of the Lord *Gorges* ; where was a Garrison of one hundred Men , Commanded by a good Officer . The rest of the Cannon and Carriages were left at *Wilton* , the House of the Earl of *Pembroke* , with a Regiment of Foot to guard them ; and the King appointed the Rendezvous for the Army to be the next Morning , by seven of the Clock , near *Clarendon-Park* ; and good Guards were set at all the Avenues of the City , to keep all People from going out , that *Waller* might not have any notice of his purpose : and if the hour of the Rendezvous had been observed , as it rarely was (though his Majesty was himself the most punctual , and never absent at the precise time) that design had succeeded to wish . For though the Foot under Prince *Maurice* came not up till eleven of the Clock , so that the Army did not begin it's march till twelve , yet they came within four Miles of *Andover* , before *Waller* had any Notice

of their Motions; when he drew out his whole Body towards them, as if he meant to Fight; but upon view of their Strength, and the good Order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the Town; leaving a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to make good his Retreat. But the King's Van Charged, and Routed them with good Execution, and pursued them through the Town, and slew many of them in the Rear, until the darkness of the Night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again; and the King Quartered that Night at *Andover*. The scattering this great Body under *Waller* in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the Spirits of the King's Army, that they desired nothing more than to have a Battle with the whole Army of the Enemy; which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline Fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolved to raise the Siege of *Donnington-Castle*, which was little out of his way to *Oxford*. To that purpose, he sent Orders for the Cannon which had been left at *Langford* and *Wilton*, to make allhaste to a place appointed between *Andover* and *Newbury*; where he staid with his Army, till they came up to him; and then marched together to *Newbury*, within a Mile of *Donnington*.

The Blockade of *Donnington-Castle* had been, (when *Middleton* from thence pursued his march into the West) left to the care of Colonel *Horton*; who for some time was contented to Block it up; but then finding his Summons neglected, and that they

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B O O K had store of Provisions within, and having an addition of Forces from *Abingdon* and *Reading*, he resolved to Besiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of *September*; and made his Approaches, and raised a Battery on the foot of the Hill next *Newbury*, and plied it so with his great Cannon that, after twelve days continual shooting, he beat down Three Towers and a part of the Wall; which he believed had so humbled the Governor and the Garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been; and therefore he sent them another Summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, “that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, “to offer them Quarter for their Lives, if they gave “up the Castle before *Wednesday* at ten of the Clock “in the Morning; but if that his favor was not accepted, he declared in the presence of God, that “there should no Man amongst them have his “Life spared.” The Governor made himself merry with his high and Threatening Language; and sent him word, “he would keep the place, and would “neither give nor receive Quarter.” At this time the Earl of *Manchester* himself with his Forces came to *Newbury*; and receiving no better Answer to his own Summons, than *Horton* had done before, he resolved to Storm it the next day. But his Soldiers, being well informed of the resolution of those within, declined that hot Service; and plied it with their Artillery until the next Night; and then removed their Battery to the other side of the Castle; and begun their Approaches by Saps; when the Governor made a strong Sally, and beat them out of their

Trenches, and killed a Lieutenant-Colonel, who B O O K
 Commanded in Chief, with many Soldiers; shot VIII.
 their Chief Cannoneer through the Head, brought
 away their Cannon-Baskets, and many Arms, and
 retired with very little loss: yet the next Night they
 finished their Battery: and continued some days their
 great shot, till they heard of the Approach of the
 King's Army; whereupon they drew off their Ord-
 nance, and their Trained-bands of *London* being
 not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march
 away to a greater distance; there having been, in
 nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent
 upon the Walls, without any other damage to the
 Garrison, than the beating down some old parts
 therefore.

When the King came to *Newbury*, the Governor
 of *Donnington* attended him; and was Knighted for
 his very good behaviour, and there was then so
 little apprehension of dread of the Enemy, that his
 Majesty thought not of prosecuting his Journey to-
 wards *Oxford*, before he should Relieve both *Basing*
 and *Banbury*. And now importunities being sent from
 the last, which was even upon the point of surrende-
 ring for want of Victuals, they having already eaten
 most of their Horses, his Majesty was well content
 that the Earl of *Northampton*, who had the Supreme
 Government of that Garrison, where he had left his
 brave Brother his Lieutenant, should, with three
 Regiments of Horse, attempt the relieving it; Let-
 ters being sent to *Oxford*, "that Colonel *Gage*, with
 " some Horse and Foot from thence, should meet
 " him;" which they did punctually; and came time

Banbury.
 Castle re-
 lieved by the
 Earl of
Northampton.

B O O K enough to *Banbury* before they were expected: yet
VIII. they found the Rebels Horse (Superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five Bodies on the South side of the Town, near their Sconce; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to Fight. But two, or three shots, made at them by a Couple of Drakes brought from *Oxford* by Colonel *Gage*, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their Cannon and Baggage had been sent out of the Town the Night before; and their Foot, being above seven hundred, run out of *Banbury* upon the first advance of the King's Troops. Colonel *Gage* with the Foot went directly to the Castle, that they might be at Liberty; whilst the Earl of *Northampton* followed the Horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand; where he furiously Charged and Routed them; and, notwithstanding they had lined some Hedges with Musqueteers, pursued them till they were scattered, and totally dispersed; their General, young *Fiennes*, continuing his flight, till he came to *Coventry*, without staying. The Foot, for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the Inclosures, before Colonel *Gage* could come up. But there were taken, in the Chase, one Field-piece, and three Waggons of Arms and Ammunition; many slain; and two Officers of Horse, with near one hundred other Prisoners, four Cornets of Horse, and two hundred Horses, were taken; and all this with the loss of one Captain and nine Troopers; some Officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the Siege was raised from *Banbury*; which had continued full thirteen

teen Weeks; so notably defended, that though they had but two Horses left uneaten, they had never suffered a Summons to be sent to them; and it was now Relieved the very day of the Month upon which both Town and Castle had been surrendered to the King two years before; being the 26th of *October*.

Though the Relief of *Banbury* succeeded to wish; yet the King paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that Service was performed, Colonel *Urry*, a Scots-man, who had formerly served the Parliament, and is well mentioned, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and performed some signal Service to the King, had in the West, about the time the King entered into *Cornwall* (in a discontented humor, which was very natural to him) desired a Pass to go beyond the Seas; and so quitted the Service: but instead of embarking himself, made haste to *London*; and put himself now into the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the King's army, and a description of the Persons and Customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution, and weakness of the King's Army, they had also Advertisement of the Earl of *Northampton's* being gone, with three Regiments of Horse, to the Relief of *Banbury*. Whereupon, within two days after, all those Forces which had been under *Essex* and *Waller*, being united with *Manchester* (with whom likewise the Trained-bands of *London* were now joined; all which made up a Body of above eight thousand Foot; the number of their Horse being not Inferior) advanced towards the King, who had not half the

B O O K number before the departure of the Earl of *North-*
VIII. *ampton*, and stayed still at *Newbury* with a resolution
 to expect the return of that Earl. that he might like-
 wise do somewhat for *Basing*; not believing that the
 Enemy could be so soon united.

The second
 Battle of
 Newbury.

It was now too late to hope to make a Safe retreat
 to *Oxford*. when the whole Body of the Enemies
 Army, which had received positive Orders to Fight
 the King as soon as was possible, appeared as near as
Thackham; so that his Majesty not at all dismayed,
 resolved to stand upon the Defensive only; hoping
 that, upon the advantage he had of the Town of
Newbury and the River, the Enemy would not speed-
 ily Advance; and that in the mean time, by being
 compelled to lodge in the Field, which grew now to
 be very Cold, whilst his Army was under cover,
 they might be forced to retire. The King Quartered
 in the Town of *Newbury*; and placed strong Guards
 on the South of the Town: but the greatest part of
 the Army was placed towards the Enemies Quarters,
 in a good House belonging to Mr. *Doleman* at *Shaw*,
 and in a Village near it, defended by the River that
 runs under *Donnington*-Castle, and in a House be-
 tween that Village and *Newbury*, about which a
 Work was cast up, and at a Mill upon the River of
Kennet; all which lay almost East from the Town.
 Directly North from thence were two open Fields,
 where most of the Horse stood with the Train of
 Artillery, and about half a mile West, was the Village
 of *Speen*; and beyond it a small Heath. In this Village
 lay all Prince *Maurice's* Foot, and some Horse, and at
 the Entrance of the Heath a work was cast up, which
 cleared the Heath. In this posture they had many

Skirmishes with the Enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the Enemy was still beaten off with loss. BOOK
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On *Sunday* Morning, the seven-and-twentieth of *October*, by the break of day, one thousand of the Earl of *Manchester's* Army, with the Trained-bands of *London*, came down the Hill; and passed the River that way by *Shaw*; and, undiscovered, forced that Guard which should have kept the Pass near the House; that was entrenched where Sir *Bernard Aspley* lay; who instantly, with a good Body of Musqueteers, fell upon the Enemy; and not only Routed them, but compelled them to Rout two other Bodies of their own Men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the Enemy were slain, and many drowned in the River, and above two hundred Arms taken. There continued, all that day, very warm Skirmishes in several parts; the Enemies Army having almost encompassed the King's; and with much more loss to Them, than to the King; till, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon, *Waller* with his own, and the Forces which had been under *Essex*, fell upon the Quarter at *Speen*, and passed the River; which was not well defended by the Officer who was appointed to guard it with Horse and Foot, very many of them being gone off from their Guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a Quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the River, they marched in good Order, with very great Bodies of Foot, winged with Horse, towards the Heath; from whence the Horse which

B O O K were left there, with too little resistance, retired;
VIII. being in truth much overpowered, by reason the Major part of them, upon confidence of security of the Pass, were gone to provide Forage for their Horse.

By this means, the Enemy possessed themselves of the Ordnance which had been planted there; and of the Village of *Speen*; the Foot which were there, retired to the Hedge next the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which they made good: at the same time, the right Wing of the Enemies Horse advanced under the Hill of *Speen*, with one hundred Musqueteers in the Van, and came into the open Field, where a good Body of the King's Horse stood; which at first received them in some disorder; but the Queen's Regiment of Horse, commanded by Sir *John Cansfield*, charged them with so much Gallantry, that he routed that great Body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the Musqueteers were slain, and very many of the Horse; insomuch that that whole Wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the Prince, and many of the Lords, and other his Servants, in the middle of that Field; and could not, by his own Presence, restrain those Horse which at the first approach of the Enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving Ground. So that if Sir *John Cansfield* had not, in that Article of Time, given them that brisk Charge, by which other Troops were ready to charge them in the Flank, the King himself had been in very great danger.

At the same time, the left Wing of the Enemies

Horse advanced towards the North-side of the great Field; but before they got thither, *Goring* with the Earl of *Cleveland's* Brigade, Charged them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great confusion over a Hedge; and following them, was Charged by another fresh Body; which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the Enemy upon the place; having not only Routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the Shot of three Bodies of their Foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the Earl of *Cleveland's* Horse falling under him, he was taken Prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred Horse, and three thousand Foot, of those under the Earl of *Manchester*, advanced with great Resolution upon *Shaw-House*, and the Field adjacent; which quarter was defended by Sir *Jacob Astley*, and Colonel *George Lisle*; and the House, by Lieutenant-Colonel *Page*. They came singing of Psalms; and, at first, drove forty Musketeers from a Hedge, who were placed there to stop them; but they were presently Charged by Sir *John Brown* with the Prince's Regiment of Horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another Body of their Horse ready to Charge him, which made him retire to the Foot in Mr. *Doleman's* Garden, which flanked that Field, and give fire upon those Horse, whereof very many fell; and the Horse thereupon Wheeling about, Sir *John Brown* fell upon their Rear, killed many, and kept that Ground all the day; when the Reserve of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Thetwell*, galled their Foot with several

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Vollies; and then fell on them with the But-ends of their Musquets, till they had not only beaten them from the Hedges, but quite out of the Field; leaving two Drakes, some Colors, and many dead Bodies behind them. At this time, a great Body of their Foot attempted Mr. *Doleman's* House, but were so well entertained by Lieutenant-Colonel *Page*, that after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such Confusion, that he pursued them from the House with a notable Execution; insomuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two Drakes out of the Field to the House, the Enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that Quarter.

It was now night; for which neither Party was sorry; and the King, who had been on that side where the Enemy only had prevailed, thought that his Army had suffered alike in all other places. He saw they were entirely possessed of *Speen*, and had taken all the Ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next Morning, to have compassed him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

Hereupon, as soon as it was night, his Majesty, with the Prince, and those Lords who had been about him all the day, and his Regiment of Guards, retired into the Fields under *Donnington*-Castle, and resolved to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the great Advantage the Enemy had in numbers, with which he was

like to be encompassed, if his Forces were beaten from either of the Posts. That resolution was, "to march away in the night towards *Wallingford*;" and to that purpose, all the Carriages, and great Ordnance, had been that Morning drawn under *Donnington-Castle*; so he sent Orders to all the Officers, to draw off their Men to the same Place; and receiving Intelligence at that time that Prince *Rupert* was come, or would be that night at *Bath*, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to join with his Army, his Majesty himself, with the Prince, and about three hundred Horse, made haste thither; and found Prince *Rupert* there; and thence made what haste they could back towards *Oxford*. The truth is, the King's Army was not in so ill a condition, as the King conceived it to have been: that Party which were in the Field near *Speen*, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair Moon-shine night, the Enemy, that was very near them, and much Superior in Number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the Enemy that had been so roughly treated at *Shaw*, having received Succour of a strong Body of Horse, resolved once more to make an attempt upon the Foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their Hill, where they stood still. This was the last Action between the Armies; for about ten of the Clock at night, all the Army, Horse, Foot, and Cannon, upon the King's Orders, drew forth their several Guards to the Heath about *Donnington-Castle*; in which they left most of their

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wounded Men with all their Ordnance, Ammunition, and Carriage; then Prince *Maurice*. and the other Officers. marched in good Order away to *Wallingford*, committing the bringing up the Rear to Sir *Humphrey Bennet* (who had behaved himself very Signally that day) who with his Brigade of Horse marched behind, and received not the least disturbance from the Enemy; who, in so light a Night, could not but know of the Retreat. and were well enough pleased to be rid of an Enemy that had handled them so ill. By the Morning, all the Army, Foot as well as Horse, arrived at *Wallingford*; where having Refreshed a little, they marched to *Oxford*, without seeing any Party of the Enemy that looked after them.

Many made a Question which Party had the better of the Day; and neither was well enough satisfied with their Success. There could be no question there were very many more killed of the Enemy, than of the King's Army; whereof were missing, only Sir *William St. Leger*-Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke's Regiment of Foot; Lieutenant-Colonel *Topping*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Leake*, both Officers of Horse, who were all there slain, with not above one hundred Common-Soldiers, in all places. The Earl of *Brentford*, General of the Army, was wounded on the head; Sir *John Gansfield*, Sir *John Grenvil*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Page*, were wounded; but all recovered. The officers of the Enemies side were never talked of, being for the most part, of no better Families than the Common-Soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the Action in

all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: yet because the King's Army quitted the Field, and marched away in the Night, the other side thought themselves Masters; and the Parliament celebrated their Victory with their usual Triumphs; though, within few days after, they discerned that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagined, that the Earl of *Brentford* remained that night in the Castle, by reason of the hurt in his Head, and so sent Colonel *Urry* to him to persuade him to give up the Castle, and to make him other large Offers; all which the General rejected with the Indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the Colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his Life for, and in the King's Service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind Reflections.

The next day, when they knew that the King's Army was retired, and not till then, they made haste to possess themselves of *Newbury*; and then drew up their whole Army before *Donnington-Castle*, and summoned the Governor "to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one Stone upon another." To which the Governor made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however he would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards:" seeing his obstinacy, they offered him "to march away with the Arms, and all things belonging to the Garrison;" and, when that moved not, "that he should carry all the Cannon, and Ammunition with him;" to all which he Answered,

BOOK " that he wondered they would not be satisfied with
 VIII. " so many Answers that he had sent," and desired
 them " to be assured, that he would not go out of
 " the Castle, till the King sent him Order so to do."
 Offended with these high Answers, they resolved to
 Assault it; but the Officer who commanded the Party,
 being killed with some few of the Soldiers; they re-
 tired; and never after made any attempt upon it:
 but remained quietly at *Newbury* in great Faction
 among themselves; every Man taking upon himself
 to find fault, and censure what had been done, and
 had been left undone, in the whole day's Service.

The King met Prince *Rupert*, as he expected, with
 Colonel *Gerrard*, and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; and
 made all the haste he could to join those Forces with
 his own Army, that so he might march back to
Newbury, and disengage his Cannon, and Carriages.
 By the way he met the Earl of *Northampton*, and those
 Regiments which had Relieved *Banbury*; and hav-
 ing with marvellous Expedition caused a new Train
 of Artillery to be formed, he brought his Army again
 to a Rendezvous on *Bullington-Green*; where, with
 the Addition of those Forces, and some Foot, which
 he drew out of *Oxford*, under the Command of Co-
 lonel *Gage*, it appeared to be full six thousand Foot,
 and five thousand Horse; with which he marched to
Wallingford; and within a day more than a Week
 after he had left *Donnington-Castle*, found himself
 there again in so good a posture, that he resolved not
 to decline Fighting with the Enemy; but would be
 first possessed of his Cannon, and put some Provision
 into the Castle; which he accomplished without any
 opposition.

The King
 relieves Don-
 nington-
 Castle.

The Enemies Army lay still at *Newbury*, perplexed with the Divisions and Factions among their own Officers, without any notice of the King's advance, till a Quarter of their Horse was beaten up. The next Morning, the King put his Army into Battalia; Prince *Rupert* who was now declared General, led the Van; and got possession of the Heath, on the back-side of the Castle; from which a small Party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep, and the way narrower. On that Heath, the King's Army was drawn up about Noon, every one being prepared to Fight; and none of the Enemy appearing, they marched by the Castle over the River by a Mill, and two Fords below it, without any opposition; and thence drew into the large Field between *Speen* and *Newbury*; which was thought a good place to expect the Enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great Body of their Horse and Foot into the other Field toward *Shaw*, and had made Breast-works and Batteries on the back-side of *Newbury*; which Town they resolved to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the King had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer Lodging, might better attack the King after his Men had lain a night or two in the Fields; it being now the Month of *November*, but fair for that Season. Some light Skirmishes passed between the Horse, but when the King saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to Fight, he called his Council together; who were unanimous in opinion, " that since he had
" Relieved the Castle, and put sufficient Provisions
" into it, and that it was in his power to draw off his

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“ Ordnance and Ammunition from thence, he had
“ done his business; and if any Honor had been lost
“ the other day, it was regained now, by his having
“ passed his Army over the River in the face of
“ Theirs, and offered them Battle; which they durst
“ not accept.” Upon which the King resolved to
attempt them no farther, but gave Orders to retire in
their view, with Drums Beating and Trumpets
Sounding, the same way he came over the River. So
the King lay that night at *Donnington* Castle, and all
the Army about him.

The King had not yet done all he meant to do,
before he took up his Winter-Quarters; and was
willing, that the Enemy should have an opportunity
to Fight with him, if they desired it: And therefore,
on the *Sunday* morning the tenth of *November*, his
Majesty marched with all his Cannon and Ammu-
nition over the Heath from *Donnington*, over a fair
Campaign, to *Lamborne*; in which march, some of
the Enemies Horse attempted his Rear, but were re-
pulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken
Prisoners. There the King Quartered that night, and
the next day, to refresh his Men, for the ill Lodging
they had endured at *Donnington*; having sent some
Persons of great Reputation and Interest to *Marl-
borough*, to make large provisions for Him, and his
Army. And then, since he heard the Enemy lay still
at *Newbury*, he marched to *Marlborough*; where he
found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon
the relief of *Basing*, which was now again distressed;
the Enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely
from the time that *Gage* had relieved it. He had a

great mind to do it with his whole Army; that thereby he might draw the Enemy to a Battle: but, upon full Debate, it was concluded, "that the safest way would be to do it by a strong Party; that one thousand Horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a Bag of Corn, or other Provisions, and march so as to be at *Basing* House the next morning after they parted from the Army; and then every Trooper was to cast down his Bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might:" And Colonel *Gage*, who had so good success before, was appointed to Command this Party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, *Hungerford* was thought the fitter place to Quarter with the Army, and from thence to despatch that Party: so his Majesty marched back to *Hungerford*, which was half way to *Newbury*: the Enemy was in mean time marched from thence to *Basing*; which, they thought, would, upon the sight of their whole Army, presently have yielded; but finding the Marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the Winter-War, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the Siege the very day before *Gage* came thither; so that he easily delivered his Provisions, and retired to the King without any inconvenience. His Majesty then marched to *Farrington*, with some hope to have surprised *Abingdon* in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had considered where to Quarter his Horse, which had formerly had their head-Quarter at *Abingdon*, and those places which were now under the power of that Governor, he

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The King
returns to
Oxford.

returned to *Oxford*; where he arrived to the universal Joy, on the three-and-twentieth of *November*; a Season of the year fit for all the Troops to be in their Winter-Quarters.

The King was exceedingly pleased to find how much the Fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the Lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgment of it to them. And the Governor *Sir Arthur Aston*, having, some Months before, in the Managing his Horse in the Fields, caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his own Leg, and, shortly after, been compelled to cut it off; so that, if he recovered at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active Service; his Majesty resolved to confer that Government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favor, and sending him a Warrant for one thousand pounds a year Pension for his Life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most general satisfaction of all Men, he conferred that Government upon Colonel *Gage*; whom he had before Knighted. *Sir Arthur Aston* was so much displeased with his Successor, that he besought the King to confer that Charge upon any other Person; and when he found that his Majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some Lords to come to him, who he thought were most Zealous in Religion, and desired them to tell the King from him, “ that though he was himself a Roman-Catholic, he
“ had been very careful to give no scandal to his
“ Majesty’s Protestant Subjects; and could not but
“ inform him, that *Gage* was the most Jesuited Papist

“ alive; that he had a Jesuit who lived with him; B O O K
“ and that he was present at all the Sermons among VIII.
“ the Catholics; which he believed would be very
“ much to his Majesty’s disservice.” So much his
Passion and Animosity over-ruled his Conscience.

The King liked the choice he had made; and only
advised the new Governor, by one of his Friends,
“ to have so much discretion in his Carriage, that
“ there might be no notice taken of the Exercise of
“ his Religion;” to which animadversion he An-
swered, “ that he never had dissembled his Religion,
“ nor ever would; but that he had been so wary in
“ the Exercise of it, that he knew there could be no
“ Witness produced, who had ever seen him at
“ Mass in *Oxford*; though he heard Mass every day;
“ and that he had never been but once at a Sermon;
“ which was at the Lodging of Sir *Arthur’s* Daughter;
“ to which he had been invited with great impor-
“ tunity; and believed now that it was to entrap
“ him.” But the poor Gentleman enjoyed the Office
very little time; for within a Month, or thereabout,
making an attempt to break down *Culham-Bridge*
near *Abingdon*, where he intended to erect a Royal
Fort, that should have kept that Garrison from that
side of the Country; he was shot through the Heart
with a Musquet-Bullet. Prince *Rupert* was present
at the Action, having approved, and been much
pleased with the design; which was never pursued
after his death: and in truth the King sustained a
wonderful loss in his death; he being a Man of great
wisdom and temper; and one among the very few
Soldiers, who made himself to be Universally loved
and esteemed.

B O O K Though the King's Condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the Summer, he had reason to expect (he had broken, and defeated two Armies of the Parliament, and returned into his Winter-Quarter with advantage, and rather with an increase than diminution of his Forces) yet his necessities were still the same, and the Fountains dried up from whence he might expect Relief; his Quarters shortened, and lessened by the loss of the whole North: for after the Battle of *York*, the *Scots* returned to Reduce *New-Castle*; which they had already done; and all other Garrisons which had held out for the King; and when that Work should be thoroughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that Army should again move Southward, and take such other Places, as the Parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

The Temper
of the Army,
and Court at
this time.

The King's Army was less united than ever; the old General was set aside, and Prince *Rupert* put into the Command, which was no Popular Change: for the other was known to be an Officer of great Experience, and had committed no oversights in his Conduct; was willing to hear every thing Debated, and always concurred with the most reasonable Opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any Action he was sprightly, and Commanded well. The Prince was Rough, and Passionate, and loved not Debate; liked what was proposed, as he liked the Persons who proposed it; and was so great an Enemy to *Digby* and *Colepepper*, who were only present in Debates of the War with the Officers, that he crossed

all

all they proposed. The truth is, all the Army had been disposed, from the first raising it, to a Neglect and Contempt of the Council; and the King himself had not been solicitous enough to preserve the Respect due to it; in which he lessened his own Dignity.

Goring, who was now General of the Horse, was no more gracious to Prince *Rupert*, than *Wilmot* had been; had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the Officers. *Wilmot* loved Debauchery, but shut it out from his business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. *Goring* had a much better Understanding, and a sharper Wit (except in the very exercise of Debauchery, and then the other was inspired) a much keener Courage, and presentness of Mind in danger: *Wilmot* discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declined it; and never drank when he was within distance of an Enemy: *Goring* was not able to resist the Temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a Victory: as, in one of those fits, he had suffered the Horse to escape out of *Cornwall*; and the most signal Misfortunes of his Life in War, had their rise from that uncontrollable Licence. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any Rules of Honor, or Integrity; but *Wilmot* violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit, or convenience to himself; *Goring* without scruple, out of Humor, or for Wit's sake; and loved no Man so well, but that he would

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cozen him, and then expose him to Public Mirth for having been cozened: therefore he had always fewer Friends than the other, but more Company; for no Man had a Wit that pleased the Company better. The Ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained by any respect to good Nature or Justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet *Wilmot* had more Scruples from Religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross, or foul Act of wickedness; *Goring* could have passed through those pleasantly; and would, without hesitation, have broken any Trust, or done any Act of Treachery to have satisfied an ordinary passion, or appetite; and in truth, wanted nothing but Industry (for he had Wit, and Courage, and Understanding, and Ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God, or Man) to have been as eminent, and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any Man in the Age he lived in, or before. Of all his Qualifications, Dissimulation was his Master-piece; in which he so much excelled, that Men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.

The Court was not much better disposed than the Army; they who had no Preferment, were angry with those who had; and thought they had not deserved so well as themselves: They who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the Titles they had received upon their own violent Importunity.

So that the King was without any joy in the Favors he had conferred, and yet was not the less solicited to grant more to others of the same kind; who, he foresaw, would be no better pleased than the rest: and the pleasing one Man this way, displeased one hundred; as his Creating the Lord *Colepepper* at this time, and making him a Baron (who in truth had served him with great Abilities; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it) did much dissatisfy both the Court, and the Army; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no Ornament of Education, to make Men the more propitious to his parts of Nature; and disposed many others to be very importunate to receive the same Obligation.

There had been another Counsel entered upon; and concluded with great Deliberation and Wisdom, which turned at this time to his Majesty's disadvantage; which was the Cessation in *Ireland*; entered into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope, to have made a good Peace there, and so to have had the Power of that united Kingdom, to have assisted to the suppressing the Rebellion in this. But now, as all the Supplies he had received from thence upon the Cessation, had been already destroyed without any benefit to the King, so his Majesty found, that he should not be able to make a Peace there; and then the Government there would be in the worse condition by being deprived of so many good Officers, and Soldiers, upon the conclusion of the Cessation. There had been Commissioners from that time sent over to the King from

B O O K the Confederate Roman-Catholics, to treat a Peace;
VIII. the Lord Lieutenant, and Council, had sent likewise Commissioners to inform the King of all things necessary to be considered in the Treaty; and the Parliament which was then sitting in *Ireland*, had sent likewise Commissioners, in the Name of the Protestants in that Kingdom, to prevent the making any Peace; and with a Petition to dissolve the Cessation that had been made

Propositions
 from the
 Protestants
 rejected by the
 King.

The Commissioners from the Confederate Roman Catholics demanded "the Abrogation, and Repeal of all those Laws, which were in force against the Exercise of the Roman Religion: That the Lieutenant, or Chief-Governor, should be a Roman-Catholic; and that there should be no distinction made, whereby those of that Religion should not be capable of any Preferment in the Kingdom, as well as the Protestants;" together with the Repeal of several Laws, which that Nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

The Commissioners from the State (whereof some were of the Privy-Council) professed "that they desired a Peace might be made;" but proposed in order, as they said, to the security of the Kingdom, "that all the *Irish* might be Disarmed; and such among them, as had been most signal and barbarous in the Massacres in the beginning of the Rebellion, might be excepted from Pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost rigor of Law: That the Laws might be put in Execution against all Roman-Catholics, and especially against all Jesuits, Priests, and Friars; and that they might be obliged

“ to pay all the Damages which had been sustained
“ by the War.”

The Commissioners from the Protestants demanded “ that the Cessation might be dissolved, and the
“ War carried on with the utmost Rigor, according
“ to the Act of Parliament that had been made in the
“ beginning of the Rebellion; and that no Peace
“ might be made on any Conditions.”

The King demanded of the *Irish*, “ whether they
“ believed it could be in his Power, if it were agree-
“ able to his Conscience, to grant them their De-
“ mands? and whether he must not thereby purchase
“ *Ireland* with the loss of *England* and *Scotland*?”

There were among them some sober Men, who confessed “ that as his Majesty’s Affairs then stood, they
“ believed he could not grant it; and they hoped,
“ that their General-Assembly would, when they
“ should be informed of the truth of his Majesty’s
“ Condition, which was not known to them, be
“ persuaded to depart from some of their Demands;
“ but that, for the present, they had not Authority
“ to recede from any one Proposition.”

The King then asked the Commissioners who had been sent over by the Marquis of *Ormond*, Lieutenant of the Kingdom, “ which Forces they thought
“ to be the stronger, the King’s Army, or that of
“ the Rebels;” they confessed “ the Rebels to be
“ much superior in Power, and that they were pos-
“ sessed of more than three parts of the Kingdom.”
The King then asked them, “ whether they thought
“ it probable, now they found themselves to be the
“ stronger, that the Rebels would be persuaded to

BOOK VIII. “ yield to so disadvantageous terms, as they proposed, and to be so wholly at the Mercy of those whom they had so much provoked? and if they could be so disposed, whether they believed that they were able, though they should be willing, to sell all they have in *Ireland* to pay the Damages which had been sustained by the War?” The Commissioners acknowledged, “ that they thought the last impossible; and that there might be a mitigation in that particular; but for the former, they durst not advise his Majesty to recede at all; for that there could be no other security for the Protestants in that Kingdom, but by leaving the *Irish* without any capacity, or ability to Trouble them: for their perfidiousness was such, that they could not be trusted; and therefore they must be put into such a Condition, by being totally Disarmed, that they should not be able to do any Mischief; or that all the Protestants must leave the Kingdom to the entire possession of the *Irish*; and whether that would be for his Majesty’s Service and Security, they must refer to his own Wisdom.”

The King then sent for the Commissioners from the Parliament, on the behalf of the Protestants, and asked them, “ whether they were ready, if the Cessation were expired, to renew the War, and to prosecute it hopefully, to the Reduction or Suppression of the *Irish*?” They answered very clearly, “ that in the State they were in, they could not carry on the War, or defend themselves against the *Irish*, who were much Superior to them in Power; but if his Majesty would recruit his Army,

“ and send over Money, and Arms, and Ammunition, with Shipping, they made no doubt, but
“ with God’s blessing, they should be able shortly
“ to reduce them, and drive them out of the Kingdom.” The King then asked them, “ whether
“ they did in truth think, that his Majesty was able
“ to send them such Supplies as they stood in need
“ of? or whether they did not, in their Consciences,
“ know, that he was not able to send them any
“ part of it, and stood in want of all for his own
“ Support? They answered, that they hoped he
“ would make a Peace with the Parliament, and
“ would then be able to send over such Assistance to
“ *Ireland*, as would quickly settle that Kingdom.”

But after all these discourses, his Majesty prevailed not with any of them to depart from the most unreasonable of all their Demands; whereupon he dismissed them; and told the *Irish*, “ it had been in
“ their Power so far to have obliged him, that he
“ might hereafter have thought himself bound to
“ have gratified them in some particulars, which
“ were not now seasonable to have been done; but
“ they would repent this their senseless perverseness,
“ when it would be too late, and when they found
“ themselves under a Power that would destroy
“ them, and make them cease to be a Nation.

So they all left *Oxford*, and his Majesty, notwithstanding all this Resolution, not to depart from any thing, that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, found that he suffered under no reproach more in *England*, than by having made that Cession: so wonderfully

B O O K unreasonable was the generality of the Nation then
VIII. by the absurd imputation of his Majesty's favoring
 the *Irish*.

The flarits in which the King now was, brought him to some reflections he had never made before; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next Summer, disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertained. His three younger Children were taken from the Governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament-Quarters, but expressly by their Order, put into the Custody of One in whom the King could have the less confidence, because it was One in whom the Parliament confided so much. He had with him the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, both young; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the Prince should never be absent from him; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what Governor, or Servants he put about him; resolving to form his Manners by his own Model. But now he began to say "that Himself and the
 " Prince were too much to venture in one bottom;
 " and that it was now time to unboy him, by put-
 " ting him into some action and acquaintance with
 " business, out of his own sight:" but communicated these thoughts only with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the Lord *Colepepper* upon the Subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he then conferred with no body. There was but

one Province in which the Prince could reside, after he was severed from the King; and that was the *West*; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the Rebels being possessed of *Taunton* one of the chief-Towns in *Somersetshire*; and though it was an open, and unfortified place, it was very strong against the King in the natural disaffection of the Inhabitants, which were very numerous; and all the places adjacent of the same ill Principles; and *Waller* had already sent some Troops thither to confirm them in their Rebellious Inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a Body sufficient to form an Army for the reduction of the *West*: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the *Scots-Army*, upon the recovery of all the North, had shaken and terrified all the Kingdom; and the King's Army was the last Enemy the *West* had been acquainted with, and had left no good Name behind it.

To prevent this mischief, *Goring* (who had now made a fast friendship with the Lord *Digby*; either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the Engagement) was sent with some Troops to *Salisbury*, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of *Waller*; without which, *Taunton* would be in a short time reduced by the Garrisons the King had in the Country: so that this alteration rather confirmed, than diverted his Majesty, in his thoughts of sending the Prince thither: and he began to publish his purpose, and named Counsellors to be with his Highness, by whose Advice all things should be done; his Ma-

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A Council
settled for
the Prince
of Wales.

jeſty's purpoſe being, in truth, only at that time that the Prince ſhould go no farther Weſt than *Briſtol*; and that there might no jealousies ariſe from this Action (which every Body knew was ſo far from the King's former purpoſe; and it might be imagined, that his Highneſs would be ſent to the Queen his Mother into *France*; which many unreaſonably apprehended) the King declared what Council he intended ſhould be about his Son; the Reputation of whom he thought, would allay all jealousies of that kind. He named the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at the Prince's Lodging, to conſider with his Highneſs, what preparations ſhould be made for his Journey, and in what manner his Family ſhould be eſtabliſhed." There was one Perſon more, who of neceſſity was to wait on the Prince, the Earl of *Berkeſhire*, his Governor; and then his Majeſty found, what wrong Meaſures he had taken in the conferring that Truſt: and lamented his own error to thoſe he truſted; but knew not how to prevent the Inconveniencies that might enſue, unleſs by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great Inconveniencies. The one was, to leſſen the Prince's Reverence, and Eſteem for his Governor; which was very ſufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the Governor without any more Authority, than every one of the Council had; and ſo much leſs, as the Prince had a better eſteem of every one of Them, than he had of Him :

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and so left him without a Governor, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the Earl of *Berkshire* too.

When the King was in this Melancholic posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear that the disorder the Parliament was in, was Superior to His. The Cause of all the Distractions in his Court, or Army, proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his Majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of Money would, in a Moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the Wealth of the Kingdom, for they were well nigh possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole Government of the Parliament: for all the personal Animosities imaginable broke out in their Councils, and in their Armies; and the House of Peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power, or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons.

That violent Party, which had at first cozened the rest into the War, and afterwards obstructed all the Approaches towards Peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with, could be applied to; and what remained to be done, must be despatched by new Workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the Earl of *Essex*, and He as much with Them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the King. They bore the loss and dishonor he had sustained in *Cornwall*, very well; and would have been glad, that both He and his Army had been

Divisions a-
mongst those
at West-
minster.

B O O K quite cut off, instead of being dissolved; for most of
VIII. his Officers and Soldiers, were corrupted in their Affections towards them; and desired nothing but Peace: so that they resolved never more to trust, or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom they depended as a fast Friend by whom they might insensibly have divested the Earl of *Essex* of all inconvenient Authority in the Army, appeared now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between Him and *Oliver Cromwell*, which was irreconcilable, and had brought some Counsels upon the Stage, before they were ripe:

Cromwell accused the Earl of *Manchester*, “of having
 “betrayed the Parliament out of Cowardice; for that
 “he might, at the King’s last being at *Newbury*, when
 “he drew off his Cannon, very easily have defeated
 “his whole Army, if he would have permitted it to
 “have been engaged: that he went to him, and showed
 “him evidently how it might be done; and desired
 “him that he would give him leave, with his own
 “Brigade of Horse, to Charge the King’s Army in
 “their Retreat; and the Earl, with the rest of his
 “Army, might look on, and do as he should think
 “fit; but that the Earl had notwithstanding all im-
 “portunity used by him and other Officers, positively
 “ly and obstinately refused to permit him; giving
 “no other reason, but that, he said, if they did
 “engage, and overthrow the King’s Army, the
 “King would always have another Army to keep
 “up the War; but if that Army which he Com-

“manded, should be overthrown, before the other
 “under the Earl of *Essex* should be reinforced, there
 “would be an end of their pretences; and they
 “should be all Rebels, and Traytors, and executed
 “and forfeited by the Law.

This pronounciation what the Law would do against them, was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as if the Earl belivged the Law to be against them, after so many Declarations made by them, “that the Law
 “was on Their side, and that the King’s Arms were
 “taken up against the Law.” The Earl confessed
 “he had used words to that effect, that they should
 “be treated as Traytors, if their Army was Defeated,
 “when he did not approve the advice that was
 “given by the Lieutenant-General; which would
 “have exposed the Army to greater hazard, than he
 “thought seasonable in that Conjunction, in the
 “middle of the Winter, to expose it to.” He then recriminated *Cromwell*, “that, at another time, *Crom-*
 “*well* discoursing freely with him of the State of the
 “Kingdom;” and proposing somewhat to be done, the Earl had Answered, “that the Parliament would
 “never approve it;” to which *Cromwell* presently replied, “My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest
 “Men, you shall find yourself in the head of an
 “Army that shall give the Law to King and Parlia-
 “ment; which discourse, he said, made great im-
 “pression in him; for he knew the Lieutenant-
 “General to be a Man of very deep designs; and
 “therefore he was the more careful to preserve an
 “Army, he yet thought was very faithful to the
 “Parliament.”

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This discourse startled those who had always an aversion to *Cromwell*, and had observed the fierceness of his Nature, and the Language he commonly used when there was any mention of Peace; so that they desired that this matter might be thoroughly examined, and brought to Judgment. But the other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose to lose the advantage they had against the Earl of *Manchester*, than to have the other matter examined; which would unavoidably have made some discoveries they were not ready to produce. However the Animosities increased, and the Parties appeared barefaced against each other; which augmented the distractions, and divided the City as well as the Parliament; and new opinions started up in Religion; which made more subdivisions; and new terms and distinctions were brought into discourse; and *Fanatics* were now first brought into appellation: which kind of confusions exceedingly disposed Men of any sober understanding, to wish for Peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the Parliament.

The *Scottish* Commissioners were as jealous, and as unsatisfied as any other Party: and found, since the Battle of *York*, neither their Army, nor themselves so much considered, as before; nor conditions performed towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealousy of *Cromwell*, and Sir *Henry Vane*, and all that Party; which they saw increased every day; and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the Council, and in the City. Their sacred Vow and Covenant was mentioned with less reverence, and respect, and the Independents, which comprehended

many Sects in Religion, spake publicly against it; of which Party *Cromwell* and *Vane* were the Leaders; with very many of their Clergy-Men, who were the most Popular Preachers, and in the Assembly of Divines had great Authority: so that the *Scots* plainly perceived, that though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the Church of *England*, as their desired, they should never be able to Establish their Presbyterian Government; without which they should lose all their Credit in their own Country, and all their Interest in *England*. They discerned likewise, that there was a purpose, if that Party prevailed, to change the whole Frame of the Government, as well Civil as Ecclesiastical, and to reduce the Monarchy to a Republic; which was as far from the end and purpose of that Nation, as to restore Episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the Mischief and Confusion that would fall out, but by a Peace; which they begun heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that Party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a Treaty on foot, they knew not.

The House of Peers, three or four Men excepted, wished it; but had no power to compass it. In the House of Commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the Courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolved to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, “ that they would accept of a Proposition for
“ a Treaty, if the King desired it, but that it would
“ be dishonorable, and of very pernicious consequence to the Nation, if the Parliament first pro-

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“ posed it.” So that it seemed evident, that if any of the Party which did in truth desire Peace, should propose it to the Parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point of Honor, by many of those who in their hearts prayed for it.

They tried their old Friends of the City, who had served their Turns so often, and set some of them to get hands to a Petition, by which the Parliament should be moved, “ to send to the King to Treat of “ Peace.” But that design was no sooner known, but others of an opposite Party were appointed to set a counter-Petition on foot, by which they should “ dis- “ claim any Consent to, or Approbation of the other “ Petition; not that they did not desire Peace, as much “ as their Neighbours (no body was yet arrived at the impudence to profess against Peace) but that they “ would not presume to move the Parliament in it, “ because they knew, their wisdom knew best the “ way to obtain it, and would do what was necessary “ and fit towards it; to which they wholly left it.”

This Petition found more Countenance among the Magistrates, the Mayor, and Aldermen; Sir *Henry Vane* having diligently provided, that Men of his own Principles and Inclinations, should be brought into the Government of the City; of which he saw they should always have great need, even in order to keep the Parliament well disposed. So that they who did in truth desire any reasonable Peace, found the way to it so difficult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the two Houses to propose it to the King, that they resolved, “ it could only “ rise from his Majesty; and to that purpose they should

“ should labor with their several Friends at *Oxford*,
“ to incline the King to send a Message to the Parlia-
“ ment, to offer a Treaty of Peace in any place
“ where they should appoint; and then they would
“ all run the utmost hazard before it should be re-
“ jected.”

The Independent Party (for under that Style and Appellation they now acted, and owned themselves) which feared and abhorred all Motions towards Peace, were in as great straits as the other, how to carry on their designs. They were resolved to have no more to do with either of their Generals, but how to lay them aside, was the difficulty; especially the Earl of *Essex*, who had been so entirely their Founder, that they owed not more to the Power and Reputation of Parliament, than to His sole Name, and Credit: the being able to raise an Army, and conducting it to Fight against the King was purely due to Him, and the effect of His Power. And now to put such an Affront upon him, and to think of another General, must appear the highest Ingratitude, and might provoke the Army itself, where he was still exceedingly beloved; and to continue him in that Trust, was to betray their own Designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to extricate and disentangle themselves out of this Labyrinth, they made no advance towards the Recruiting or Supplying their Armies, nor to provide for any Winter-Expedition; only they sent *Waller* out, with such Troops towards the West, as they cared not for, and resolved to use their Service no more.

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They knew not how to propose the great alterations, they intended, to the Parliament; and of all Men, the *Scottish* Commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolved to pursue the Method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare, and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houses (and in those Combinations they were always unanimous) "that they would have a Solemn "Fast-Day, in which they would *seek God*" (which was the new phrase they brought from *Scotland* with their Covenant) "and desire his Assistance, to lead "them out of the perplexities they were in:" and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the Preachers who were to perform that Exercise, and who were more Trusted in the deepest Designs, than most of those who named them were: for there was now a Schism among their Clergy, as well as the Laity; and the Independents were the Bolder, and more Political Men.

When the Fast-Day came (which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the Churches) the Preachers prayed "the Parliament might be inspired "with those thoughts, as might contribute to their "Honor and Reputation; and that they might preserve that opinion the Nation had of their Honesty "and Integrity, and be without any Selfish ends, or "seeking their own Benefit and Advantage." After this preparation by their Prayers, the Preachers, let their Texts be what they would, told them very plainly, "that it was no wonder there was such

“ Division among them in their Counsels, when
 “ there was no Union in their hearts: That the
 “ Parliament lay under many reproaches, not only
 “ among their Enemies, but with their best Friends;
 “ who were the more out of countenance, because
 “ they found that the aspersions and imputation
 “ which their Enemies had laid upon them, were so
 “ grounded, that they could not wipe them off:
 “ That there was as great Pride, as great Ambition,
 “ as many private Ends, and as little Zeal and Affec-
 “ tion for the Public, as they had ever imputed to
 “ the Court: That, whilst they pretended, at the
 “ Public cost, and out of the Purses of the poor
 “ People, to make a general Reformation, their
 “ chief care was to grow great and rich Them-
 “ selves; and that both the City and Kingdom
 “ took notice, with great anxiety of Mind, that
 “ all the Offices of the Army, and all the profi-
 “ table Offices of the Kingdom, were in the hands
 “ of the Members of the two Houses of Parliament;
 “ who, whilst the Nation grew poor, as it must
 “ needs do under such insupportable Taxes, grew
 “ very rich; and would, in a short time, get all the
 “ Money of the Kingdom into their hands; and that
 “ it could not reasonably be expected, that such
 “ Men, who got so much, and enriched Themselves
 “ to that degree, by the continuance of the war,
 “ would heartily pursue those ways which would
 “ put an end to it; the end whereof must put an end
 “ to their Exorbitant Profit.” When they had exag-
 gerated these reproaches, as pathetically as they

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could, and the sense the People generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing any end of the Calamities they sustained, or having any prospect of that Reformation in Church and State, which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their Prayers, “ that God
 “ would take his own Work into his hand ; and if
 “ the Instruments he had already employed, were
 “ not worthy to bring so glorious a Design to a
 “ conclusion, that He would inspire others more fit,
 “ who might perfect what was begun, and bring the
 “ Trouble of the Nation to a Goodly period.

After a Fast-
 day Vane and
 Cromwell
 proposed a
 self-denying
 Ordinance.

When the two Houses met together, the next day after these devout Animadversions, there was another Spirit appeared in the looks of many of them. Sir Henry Vane told them, “ if ever God had appeared
 “ to them, it was in the exercise of Yesterday ; and
 “ that it appeared, it proceeded from God, because
 “ (as he was credibly informed by many, who had
 “ been Auditors in other Congregations) the same
 “ lamentations, and discourses, had been made in all
 “ other Churches, as the Godly Preachers had made
 “ before Them ; which could therefore proceed
 “ only from the immediate Spirit of God.” He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepared to enlarge ; and besought them “ to remember their obligations to God, and
 “ to their Country ; and that they would free them-
 “ selves from those just reproaches ; which they
 “ could do no otherwise, than by divesting them-
 “ selves of all Offices, and Charges, that might
 “ bring in the least advantage and profit to them-

“ selves; by which only they could make it appear,
“ that they were public-hearted Men; and as they
“ payed all Taxes and Impositions with the rest
“ of the Nation, so they gave up all their time to
“ their Country’s Service, without any reward or
“ gratuity.

He told them, “ that the Reflections of Yesterday,
“ none of which had ever entered upon his Spirit
“ before, had raised another Reflection in him than
“ had been mentioned; which was, that it had been
“ often taken notice of, and objected by the King
“ himself, that the Numbers of the Members of Par-
“ liament, who sat in either House, were too few
“ to give reputation to Acts of so great Moment, as
“ were transacted in their Councils; which, though
“ it was no fault of theirs, who kept their proper
“ Stations, but of those who had deserted their
“ places, and their trusts, by being absent from the
“ Parliament; yet that, in truth, there were too
“ many absent, though in the Service of the House,
“ and by Their appointment; and if all the Mem-
“ bers were obliged to attend the Service of the Par-
“ liament, in the Parliament, it would bring great
“ reputation to their Numbers, and the People
“ would pay more reverence, and yield a fuller obedi-
“ ence to their Commands:” and then concluded,
“ that he was ready to accuse himself for one of
“ those who gained by an Office he had; and though
“ he was possessed of it before the beginning of the
“ Troubles, and owed it not to the favor of the Par-
“ liament” (for he had been joined with Sir *William*
Russel in the *Treasurership* of the Navy by the King’s

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Grant) "yet he was ready to lay it down, to be disposed of by the Parliament; and wished, that the profits thereof might be applied towards the support of the War."

When the Ice was thus broke, *Oliver Cromwell*, who had now yet arrived at the faculty of Speaking with decency and temper, commended the Preachers "for having dealt plainly and impartially, and told them of their faults, which they had been so unwilling to hear of: that there were many things, upon which he had never reflected before, yet upon revolving what had been said, he could not but confess, that all was very true; and till there were a perfect reformation in those particulars which had been recommended to them, nothing would prosper that they took in hand: that the Parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance into the War, to engage many Members of their own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the Nation might see that they did not intend to Embark them in perils of War, whilst themselves sat securely at home out of Gun-shot, but would march with them where the danger most threatened, and those Honourable Persons, who had exposed themselves this way, had merited so much of their Country, that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever should be well done after them, would be always imputed to their Example: But, that God had so blessed their Army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent Officers, who were fitter for much greater Charges than

" they were now possessed of; and desired them not
 " to be terrified with an imagination, that if the
 " highest Offices were vacant, they should not be
 " able to put as fit Men into them; for besides that
 " it was not good to put so much trust in any Arm
 " of Flesh, as to think such a Cause as This depend-
 " ed upon any one Man, he did take upon him to
 " assure them, that they had Officers in their Army,
 " who were fit to be Generals in any Enterprize in
 " Christendom."

He said "he thought nothing so necessary as to
 " purge, and vindicate the Parliament, from the
 " partiality towards their own Members; and made
 " a proffer to lay down his Commission of Command
 " in the Army;" and desired, "that an Ordinance
 " might be prepared, by which it might be made
 " unlawful, for any Member of either House of Par-
 " liament, to hold any Office or Command in the
 " Army, or any Place or Employment in the State;"
 and so concluded with an enlargement upon "the
 " Vices, and Corruptions, which were gotten into
 " the Army; the prophaneness, and impiety, and
 " absence of all Religion; the drinking and gaming,
 " and all manner of Licence, and Laziness; and said
 " plainly, that till the whole Army were new Model-
 " led, and Governed under a stricter Discipline, they
 " must not expect any notable Success in any thing
 " they went about."

This Debate ended in appointing a Committee,
 " to prepare an Ordinance for the Exclusion of all
 " Members from their Trusts aforesaid;" which
 took up much Debate, and depended very long be-

BOOK VIII. fore it was brought to a conclusion; and in the end was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*; the driving on of which, exceedingly increased the inclination of the other Party to Peace; which they did now foresee would only prevent their own ruins, in that of the Kingdom.

Advice came from so many several hands to *Oxford*, that the King should send a Message to the Houses for Peace, with an Assurance that it would not be rejected, that his Majesty (who still apprehended as great a division among his own Friends upon the Conditions of Peace, out of the universal weariness of the War, as he discerned there was among his Enemies upon the Emulation in Command, or differences in Religion) entered upon the consideration how to bring it to pass. The Members of Parliament were still sitting at *Oxford*: but they at *London* who were most desirous of Peace, had given warning to avoid that Rock; and that their Names should never be mentioned; which would have procured an Union between the most irreconcilable Parties, in throwing out such Overtures. On the other side the sending a bare Message, by a Trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect, than an insolent Answer in the same way, or no Answer at all, as his two or three last Messages had done.

In conclusion, the King resolved that there should be a short Message drawn; in which, “the continuance of the War, and the mischiefs it brought upon the Kingdom, should be lamented: and his desire expressed, that some reasonable Conditions of Peace might be thought upon; assuring them

“ that his Majesty would be willing to consent to
 “ any thing, that could consist with his Conscience
 “ and Honor.” He resolved, that he would send this
 Message by some Persons of Condition; who might,
 upon conference with their Friends, be able to make
 some impression; at least discover what might be
 reasonably expected. And if the Parliament should
 refuse to grant a Safe-Conduct for such Messengers,
 it might well be presumed, what reception the Mes-
 sage itself was like to find. The Persons he resolved
 to send, were the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Earl
 of *Southampton*; both of unblemished Honor, and of
 general Reputation in the Kingdom. So a Trumpet
 was sent to the Earl of *Essex* for a Safe-Guard, or Pass,
 to those two Lords; to the end they might deliver a
 Message from the King to the two Houses concern-
 ing a Treaty of Peace. To which the Earl of *Essex*
 only answered, “ that he would acquaint the Houses
 “ with it, and return their Answer;” and so dismissed
 the Trumpet.

The King had now done his part; and the rest was
 to be perfected there. They who were resolved never
 to admit a Peace, though they could not still prevent
 a Treaty, thought they had advantage enough to
 object against this unusual Message: “ If the Message
 “ itself had been sent, they might have judged,
 “ whether it had been like to be attended with good
 “ Success, and so might have accepted a Treaty,
 “ if they had approved of it; but this sending of
 “ Messengers before they knew what they would
 “ bring, was an invention to begin a Treaty before
 “ they admitted it; and to send Enemies into their

B O O K " Quarters, with Authority to scatter their Poison
VIII. " abroad:" and therefore, with great passion, they
pressed, " that no such Pass should be sent." On the
other hand it was, with equal passion, alledged,
" that the refusal of the Safe-Conduct was a total
" rejection of Peace, before they understood upon
" what terms it would be offered; which the People
" would take very ill from them; and conclude that
" the War must continue for ever: they therefore
" wished that a Safe-Guard might be sent without
" delay, and that they would have a better opinion
" of their Friends, than to imagine that the Presence,
" or Power of two Men how considerable soever,
" would be able to corrupt, or pervert their Affec-
" tions from the Parliament."

In this opinion the *Scottish* Commissioners like-
wise concurred; so that the other Party found it
necessary to consent, and the Safe-Conduct, after
many Debates, was sent accordingly. But that they
might not seem to their Friends abroad, to be over-
powered; they revenged themselves in pursuing the
despatch of their *Self-denying Ordinance* with great
vehemence; and because the effect of that was mani-
festly that they should be without a General, it was
already proposed " that Sir *Thomas Fairfax*" (who
had behaved himself so signally in their Service, in
the Defeat of Colonel *Bellasis*, and taking him Pri-
soner, which gave them their first footing in *York-*
shire, from their being shut up and Besieged in *Hull*;
in the overthrow of the Lord *Byron*, and taking all
the *Irish* Regiments; and lastly in the late Battle at
Tork, where he had turned the fortune of the day,

Sir Thomas
Fairfax is pro-
posed in the
House of Com-
mons to be
made their
General.

when the *Scottish* Army was Routed and their General Fled) "might now be made their General;" for which *Oliver Cromwell* assured them he was very equal. In the discourses upon this Subject (which found all opposition) as the Service of the Earl of *Essex* was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by those who desired to have no other General, so it was undervalued, and depressed, with some bitterness and contumely, by those who believed that all they could do would be to no purpose, if He were not totally excluded from any power.

About the beginning of *December*, the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, upon their Pass, went from *Oxford* to *London*; where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the People should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the Courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the *Scottish* Commissioners, as Men in Sovereign Authority, and Independent upon the Parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them. The Houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their Message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the War was carried on only by the Authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the Message being delivered to either House, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the *Scottish* Commissioners made a third Estate, and the Message was directed to Them as well as to the Houses. In the end it was resolved, "that there should be a Conference between the two Houses in the Painted-Chamber; at which the *Scottish*

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The Duke of
Richmond and
the Earl of
Southampton
sent to London
with a Message
for a Treaty.

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“ Commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the Table; and that the upper end of it should be kept for the King’s Messengers:” Where there was a Seat provided for them, all the rest being bare, and expecting that They would be so too: for though the Lords used to be covered whilst the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before the *Scottish Commissioners*: and so none were covered. But as soon as the two Lords came thither, they covered, to the trouble of the other; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that Eye-sore.

The two Lords used very few words, in letting them know the King’s great Inclinations to Peace; and delivered and read their Message to that purpose; which was received by the Lords without any other expressions than “that they should report it to the Houses;” and so the meeting broke up: And then many of the Lords, and some of the Commons, passed some Compliments and Ceremony to the two Lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to see them in private, or to send Confiding Persons to them. By which means, they found there were great Divisions among them, and upon Points that would admit no reconciliation: and therefore they believed that there would be a Treaty of Peace; but they could not make any such guess of the Moderation of the Conditions of the Peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired the Peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wished it, but upon

the highest terms of Honor, and Security for the Parliament; which could neither be Secure, nor Honorable for the King. They discovered, that they who did heartily wish the Peace, did intend to promote a Treaty between Persons named by the King and Persons named by the Parliament, to meet at some third Place, and not to send Commissioners to *Oxford* to Treat with the King himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not more likely now to produce a better end: Whereas they did believe, or seemed to believe, that how unreasonable soever the Propositions should be, upon which they Treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refused others, sooner prevail with the Houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

This Method was not ungrateful to the two Lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober Men were named for Commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their Communication. And the Duke of *Richmond* sent his Secretary *Webb* expressly to *Oxford*, to know the King's pleasure, "whether, if a third Place were proposed for Commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it?" Which his Majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was persuaded to approve. But all this was but discourse, and private wishes: for it was never brought into Debate; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they staid in Town, the Houses would never so much as confer upon the Subject of their Message; because they found it would be

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“ matter of great Debate, and spend much time ;
 “ during which they did not desire their Company,
 “ nor to be troubled with their Infusions.” And there-
 fore, as soon as they had received the King’s Message,
 they proceeded upon their Trial of the Arch-Bishop
 of *Canterbury* before both Houses of Parliament, upon
 an Impeachment of High-Treason, resolving like-
 wise to give that evidence to the People, of what
 inclination they had to make a Peace with the King.
 The two Lords, observing this affected delay in
 the business they were sent about, and being advised
 by their Friends not to stay longer, but to expect the
 determination to be sent to *Oxford*, returned to the
 King, with some confidence that a Treaty would be
 consented to; and that it would be at some third
 Place, and not at *Oxford*, and less at *London*, by
 Commissioners which should be agreed on by both
 sides. But they brought an express desire, and even
 a condition to the King, from all those with whom
 they had conferred, and who were the chief Persons
 who advanced the Treaty, “ that, if that which
 “ they labored for, should be yielded to by the Par-
 “ liament, his Majesty would not Name a Person”
 (whom they mentioned to the King) “ for one of
 “ his Commissioners; for that he was so odious, that
 “ they would absolutely decline the Treaty, before
 “ they would admit Him to be one of the Treaters.”

The Trial of
 the Arch-
 Bishop of Can-
 terbury.

It was, as is said before, a very sad Omen to the
 Treaty, that, after they had received the King’s
 Message by those Noble Lords, and before they re-
 turned any Answer to it, they proceeded in the
 Trial of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who had lain

Prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the Parliament, about four years, without any prosecution till this time. Now they brought him to the Bars of both Houses; charging him with several Articles of High-Treason; which, if all that was alledged against him, had been true, could not have made him guilty of Treason. They accused him “ of a design to bring in Popery, and of having correspondence with the Pope,” and such like particulars, as the Consciences of his greatest Enemies absolved him from. No Man was a greater, or abler Enemy to Popery; No Man a more resolute and devout Son of the Church of *England*. He was prosecuted by Lawyers, assigned to that purpose, out of those, who from their own Antipathy to the Church and Bishops, or from some disobligations received from him, were sure to bring Passion, Animosity, and Malice enough of their own; what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach and barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not displeased.

He defended himself with great and undaunted Courage, and less Passion than was expected from his Constitution; answered all their objections with clearness, and irresistible reason; and convinced all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his detestation of all Treasonable Intentions. So that though few excellent Men have ever had fewer Friends to their Persons, yet all reasonable Men absolved him from any foul Crime that the Law could take notice of, and punish. However, when They had said all they could

BOOK against Him, and he all for himself that need to be
VIII. said, and no such Crime appearing, as the Lords,
 as the Supreme Court of Judicatory, would take upon
 them to judge him to be worthy of death; they re-
 sorted to their Legislative Power, and by Ordinance
 of Parliament, as they called it, that is by a deter-
 mination of those Members who sat in the Houses
 (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above
 twelve) they appointed him to be put to death as
 guilty of High-Treason. The first time the two
 Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that Juris-
 diction, or that ever Ordinance had been made to
 such a purpose; nor could any Rebellion be more
 against the Law, than that Murderous Act.

He is con-
 demned by an
 Ordinance.

When the first mention was made of their mon-
 strous purpose, of bringing the Arch-Bishop to a
 Trial for his Life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,
 who had always a great Reverence and Affection for
 him, had spoken to the King of it, and proposed to
 him, "that in all events, there might be a Pardon
 " prepared, and sent to him, under the Great Seal
 " of *England*; to the end, if they proceeded against
 " him in any form of Law, he might plead the King's
 " Pardon; which must be allowed by all who pre-
 " tended to be governed by the Law; but if they
 " proceeded in a Martial, or any other extraordinary
 " way, without any form of Law, his Majesty
 " should declare his Justice and Affection to an old
 " faithful Servant, whom he much esteemed, in hav-
 " ing done all towards his preservation that was in
 " his Power to do." The King was wonderfully
 pleased with the Proposition; and took from thence
 occasion

occasion to commend the Piety and Virtue of the Arch-Bishop, with extraordinary Affection; and commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to cause the Pardon to be prepared, and his Majesty would Sign and Seal it with all possible secrecy; which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the Chancellor sent for Sir *Thomas Gardiner* the King's Solicitor, and told him the King's pleasure; upon which he presently drew the Pardon, which was Signed and Sealed with the Great Seal of *England*, and carefully sent, and delivered into the Arch-Bishop's own hand, before he was brought to his Trial; who received it with great joy, as it was a Testimony of the King's gracious Affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion that they who endeavoured to take away the King's Life, would preserve His by his Majesty's Authority.

When the Arch-Bishop's Council had perused the Pardon, and considered that all possible Exceptions would be taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found, that the Impeachment was not so distinctly set down in the Pardon as it ought to be; which could not be helped at *Oxford*, because they had no Copy of it; and therefore had supplied it with all those general expressions, as, in any Court of Law, would make the Pardon valid against any exceptions the King's own Council could make against it. Hereupon, the Arch-Bishop had, by the same Messenger, returned the Pardon again to the Chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and delivered safely again to him, and was in his

B O O K hands during the whole time of his Trial. So when
VIII. his Trial was over, and the Ordinance passed for his Execution, and He called and asked, according to custom in Criminal proceedings, "what he could say more, why he should not suffer death?" He told them, "that he had the King's gracious Pardon, which he pleaded, and tendered to them, and desired that it might be allowed." Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the Pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long Debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, and that the King could not Pardon a Judgment of Parliament." And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for his Beheading; which he underwent with all Christian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders and Confusion of his Enemies. Much hath been said of the Person of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments, and natural Infirmities, to which shall be added no more in this place (his memory deserving a particular celebration) than that his Learning, Piety, and Virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greatest of his Infirmities are common to all, even to the best Men.

The Arch-
 Bishop be-
 headed.

When they had despatched this important work, and thereby received a new instance of the good Affection and Courage of their Friends, and involved the two Houses in fresh guilt and obloquy (for too many concurred in it, without considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their Credit clear and entire, whereby they might with the more Authority advance the Peace that was desired) they now

enter upon the Debate, " what Answer they should
 " send the King, concerning a Treaty for Peace." BOOK
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They who desired to advance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the designs of new-modelling the Army, and to prevent the increase of those Factions in Religion, which every day broke out among them, to the notorious Scandal of Christianity. They who had no mind to a Treaty, because they had minds averse from all thoughts of Peace, discerned plainly, that they should not be able to finish their design upon the Army, and set many other devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience, until this longed-for Treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give some conclusion to it; and resolved, that there should be a Treaty, and upon the Method that should be observed in the conducting it; from which they who should be employed by them, should not recede to be diverted.

Then they nominated sixteen Commissioners for the two Houses, and four for the Parliament of Scotland, and named *Uxbridge* for the place where the Treaty should be; which Treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days from the time when it should begin. The two
Houses agreed
to a Treaty at
Uxbridge.

Upon this conclusion, they sent their Answer to the Message, they had received from the King by a Trumpet, in a Letter from their General to the King's General; in which they informed his Majesty, " that,
 " out of their passionate desire of Peace, they had
 " agreed to his Proposition for a Treaty; and that
 " they had assigned *Uxbridge* for the place where it
 " should be; and had appointed the Earl of *Northum-*

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" *berland*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Salisbury*,
 " and the Earl of *Denbigh*, of the House of Peers;
 " and of the Commons, the Lord *Wainman*," Mr.
Pierpoint, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Saint-John* (whom they
 called the King's Solicitor-General) " Sir *Henry Vane*
 " the younger, Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr.
 " *Prideaux*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the
 " Lord *Lowden*, Chancellor of *Scotland*;" the Lord
Maitland (who, by the death of his Father, became
 Earl of *Lantherdale* by the time of the Treaty) " Sir
 " *Charles Erskin*, and one Mr. *Barcley*, to be their
 " Commissioners; together with Mr. *Alexander Hen-*
 " *derson*, in matters only which relate to the Church;
 " to Treat, upon the particulars they had intrusted
 " them with, with such Persons, as his Majesty
 " should please to Nominate; for all whom a Safe-
 " Conduct should be sent, as soon as his Majesty had
 " named them; as they desired his Majesty's Safe-
 " Conduct for the Persons named by them:" to none
 of which the King took any exception, but signed
 their Vals, and sent word to the Houses, " that he
 " accepted the Treaty, and the place, and that he
 " had nominated, as Commissioners for Him, the
 " Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the
 " Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Kingston*, the Earl
 " of *Chichester* the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Seymour*,
 " the Lord *Hutton*, Controller of the King's House-
 " hold; the Lord *Colepepper*, Master of the Rolls;
 " Sir *Edward Hyde*, Chancellor of the Exchequer;
 " Sir *Edward Nicholas*, principal Secretary of State;
 " Sir *Richard Lane* Lord Chief-Baron of his Court
 " of Exchequer; Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, his Majesty's

The King
accepts it.

“ Solicitor-General; Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Attorney of his Court of Wards; Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Geoffery Palmer*; and desired, that a Safe-Conduct might be sent for them, as his Majesty had sent for the others; and they should then be ready, at the day that was set down, at *Uxbridge*.”

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When this was returned to *Westminster*, there arose new disputes upon the Persons named by the King, or rather against the Additions, and Appellations of Title, which were made to their Names; for they did not except against the Persons of any of them, though several were most ungracious to them.

When the Lord Keeper *Lyttleton* had fled from *Westminster*, upon his Majesty's Commands to attend him at *York*, the two Houses had, in their fury, declared, “ that nothing which should, from that time, pass under the Great-Seal, should be good and valid; but void and null:” this they did to discredit any Commission, which they foresaw might issue out for their Conviction, Trial, and Attainder: and, in some time after, they had caused a Great-Seal to be made with the King's Image, for the despatch of the necessary process in Law, and proceedings in Courts of Justice, which Seal was committed by them to some of their Members, who had sat in the Chancery, and transacted the business of that Court, and applied the Seal to all those uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this Declaration and Ordinance of theirs, invaded in this Message they had now received from the King. The Lord *Dunsmore* had been created Earl of *Chichester*; Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Lord *Hatton*; Sir *John Colepepper*,

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Lord *Colepepper*. with the Addition of Master of the Rolls: which Office they had bestowed upon *Denhall* their Speaker, who was in possession of it. Sir *Edward Hyde* was declared Chancellor of the Exchequer; which, though it was an Office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the Great-Seal, after it came into the King's hands. Sir *Thomas Gardiner* was made the King's Solicitor; and the Patent formerly granted to their beloved *Saint John*, stood revoked; which they would not endure; having, as is said, annexed that Title to his Name when they mentioned him as a Commissioner for their Treaty. They had the same exception to the Chief-Baron, and to the Attorney of the Wards; both which Offices were in the possession of Men more in their favor.

After long Debate, they were contented to insert their Names in their Safe Conduct, without their Honors, or Office; and they were so angry with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had no mind that he should be styled a Knight, because he was not so when he left the Parliament: But the *Scottish* Commissioners prevailed in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the Use of the King's Sword from him: so they allowed him, by a Majority of Votes, to be a Knight, and sent their Safe-Conduct, in the manner as is mentioned, to *Oxford*: Upon which the King, at the desire of the Persons concerned, forbore to insist; but giving them still in his own Pass, and in his Commission whereby they were authorized to Treat, the Style and Appellation which belonged to them, and which

must be allowed by the others before they began to Treat. The Style of their Pass was not thought worthy any reply; and because there was private advice given at the same time, "that they would not, when they met at the Treaty, consider any Authority that qualified the King's Commissioners to Treat, but only what should be under the King's Sign-Manual," though they would not have taken that for a sufficient Warrant for themselves to Treat with the King's Enemies; at last the King's Commissioners were contented, together with a Commission under the Great-Seal of *England*, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the Sign-Manual, as was desired.

About the end of *January*, or the beginning of *February*, the Commissioners on both sides met at *Uxbridge*; which being within the Enemy's Quarters, the King's Commissioners were to have such Accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the Town to the King's Commissioners, one House only excepted, which was given to the Earl of *Pembroke*; so that they had no cause to complain of their Accommodation; which was as good as the Town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a good House at the end of the Town, which was provided for the Treaty, where was a fair Room in the middle of the House, handsomely dressed up for the Commissioners to sit in; a large square Table being placed in the middle with Seats for the Commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either Party; and a Rail for others

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The Treaty
at Uxbridge.

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who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. There were many other Rooms on either side of this great Room, for the Commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult by themselves, and to return again to the public Debate; and there being good Stairs at either end of the House, they never went through each other's Quarters; nor met, but in the great Room.

As soon as the King's Commissioners came to the Town, all those of the Parliament came to visit and to welcome them; and, within an hour, those of the King returned their visits with usual Civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the Treaty would produce a good Peace. The first visits were altogether, and in one Room; the *Scots* being in the same Room with the *English*. Each Party ate always together, there being two great Inns which served very well to that purpose. The Duke of *Richmond*, being Steward of his Majesty's House, kept his Table there for all the King's Commissioners: nor was there any restraint from giving and receiving Visits apart, as their acquaintance, and inclinations disposed them; in which those of the King's Party used their accustomed Freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side, there was great wariness and reservedness; and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give, or receive Visits to, or from their old Friends; whom they loved better than their New. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the King's Commissioners, but had always one of their Companions with them, and sometimes one whom they least trusted. It was observed by the

Town, and the People that flocked thither, that the King's Commissioners looked as if they were at home and governed the Town; and the other as if they were not in their own Quarters; and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of Mind, as Men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

The King's Commissioners would willingly have performed their Devotions in the Church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is by Inhibition from the Parliament, otherwise than that by the Parliament's Ordinance (as they called it) the Book of Common-Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the Vestures, nor Ceremonies of the Church to be used. So that the days of Devotion were observed in their great Room of the Inn; whither many of the Country, and the Train of the Commissioners, and other Persons, who came every day from London, usually resorted.

When the Commissioners, on both sides, met first together in the Room appointed for the Treaty, and had taken their Seats, it being left to the King's Commissioners, which side of the Table they would take; the Earl of *Northumberland*, who always delivered any thing that was agreed between them, and read all the Papers (after the powers of both sides were examined, and perused) proposed some Rules to be observed in the Treaty; "as of having Nothing binding, unless All were Agreed upon;" and such like; to which there was no objection; and offered, as a direction they had received from the Parliament, that they should first enter upon the matter of Re-

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“ligion, and Treat three entire days upon that
 “Subject, without entering upon any other; and if
 “all Differences, in that particular, were not adjusted
 “within those days, they should then proceed to the
 “next Point, which was the Militia; and observe
 “the same Method in that, and from thence pass to
 “the business of *Ireland*; which three Points being
 “well settled, they believed the other differences
 “would be with more ease composed: and after
 “those nine days were passed, they were to go
 “round again upon the several Subjects, as long as
 “the time limited would continue: his Majesty being
 “left at liberty to propose what he thought fit, at
 “his own time, and to change the Method propo-
 “sed.” It was declared, “that the Twenty days, li-
 “mited for the Treaty, were to be reckoned of the
 “days which should be spent in the Treaty, and
 “not the days of coming or returning, or the days
 “spent in Devotion;” there falling out three Sundays
 and a Fast-day in those Twenty days. The Method
 was willingly consented to; the King’s Commis-
 sioners conceiving it would be to no purpose to propose
 any thing on the King’s behalf, till they discerned
 what agreement was like to be made in any one par-
 ticular; by which they might take their Measures,
 and might propose any thing of Moment under one
 of the three Heads mentioned before.

There happened a very odd Accident, the very
 first Morning they met at the House to agree upon
 their Method to be observed in the Treaty. It was
 a Market-day, when they used always to have a
 Sermon, and many of the Persons who came from

Oxford in the Commissioners Train, went to the Church to observe the forms. There was one *Love*, a young Man, that came from *London* with the Commissioners, who preached, and told his Auditory, which consisted of the People of the Town, and of those who came to the Market, the Church being very full, "that they were not to expect any good from the Treaty; for that they came from *Oxford* with hearts full of Blood, and that there was as great distance between this Treaty and Peace, as between Heaven and Hell; and that they intended only to amuse the People with expectation of Peace, till they were able to do some notable mischief to them;" and inveighed so seditiously against all Cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the King. and against the Persons of the Commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the People to mutiny; and in it to do some Act of Violence upon the Commissioners. They were no sooner advertised of it, by several Persons who had been present in the Church, and who gave very particular Information of the very words which had been spoken, than they informed the other Commissioners of it: gave them a Charge in writing against the Preacher; and demanded public Justice. They seemed troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon the Man; but afterwards confessed, "that they had no Authority to punish him but that they had caused him to be sharply reprimanded, and to be sent out of the Town;" and this was all that could be obtained: so unwilling

B O O K they were to discountenance any Man who was willing to serve them. This is the same *Love*, who some years after, by *Cromwell's* particular prosecution, had his head cut off, for being in a Plot with the *Scots* against the Army, and their Parliament.

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It is not the purpose of this Discourse to set down the particular transactions of this Treaty; which were published by the King's Order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the Papers, which had been delivered by the Commissioners on either side, exposed to the View of the Kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out in that time, and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, shall be briefly mentioned, that any, who hereafter shall have the perusal of this History may know how impossible it was, that this Treaty could produce such a Peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who governed the Parliament then, had at that time the resolution to Act those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

First of Religion.

The first business to be entered upon, being that of Religion, the Divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr. *Steward*, Clerk of the Closet to the King, was a Commissioner, as Mr. *Henderson* was on the other side; and they both sat covered without the Bar, at the backs of the Commissioners. On the Parliament-Part, it was proposed, "that all the Bishops, Deans and Chapters, might be immediately taken away, and abolished; and

“ in the room thereof, that there might be another
 “ Government erected ; such as should be most agree-
 “ able to God’s word , and the Practice of the best
 “ Churches: That the Book of Common-Prayer
 “ might be taken away, and totally suppressed, and
 “ that , instead thereof, a Directory might be used ”
 { in which there was likewise set down as much of
 the Government, which they meant to erect for the
 future, as was necessary to be provided for the pre-
 sent. and which supplied all the use of Articles or
 Canons, which they had likewise abolished }” and
 “ that the King himself should take the Covenant ;
 “ and consent to an Act of Parliament, whereby all
 “ Persons of the Kingdom should be likewise obliged
 “ to take it.” And the Copies of the Covenant, and
 the Directory were delivered at the same time to
 the King’s Commissioners; which were very long,
 and necessary to be read over, before any Answer
 could be made to them. So they took that Afternoon
 to peruse them together, and adjourned their Treaty
 till the next Morning; and though they entered
 upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory
 was so very long, that they spent all that Afternoon,
 and some part of the Night, before they had finished
 the reading of them. Then, there being many new
 terms in the Directory, as *Congregational, Classical,*
Provincial, and *Synodical*, which were not known
 in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant,
 which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were
 left so, because the Persons who framed them, were
 not all of one mind, nor had the same Intentions in
 some of the other terms mentioned before, the King’s

BOOK Commissioners caused many Questions to be prepared in writing, to be offered at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be informed, what their meaning was in such and such Expressions, in which they knew well they had several meanings, and would hardly concur in one, and the same Answer.

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About the beginning of the Treaty, or the day before it did begin, the Earl of *Lowen*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, visited the Duke of *Richmond* privately in his Chamber; and either proposed, or was very willing, to have private conference there with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; upon which the Duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him; and He presently went to the Duke's Chamber; where he found them both; and after some short Compliments, the Earl told him, "how stoutly
" he had defended his Knighthood; which the Parliament had resolved to have denied, if he had not
" convinced them." Thence, he discoursed of "the
" great prejudice the Parliament had against him, as
" a Man who more industriously opposed Peace
" than any other of the King's Council: that he had
" now a good opportunity to wipe off all those jealousies, by being a good Instrument in making this
" Peace, and by persuading his Majesty to comply
" with the desires and supplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he would be."

The Chancellor told him, "that the King did so
" much desire a Peace, that no Man need advise
" him to it, or could divert him from it, if fair and
" honorable conditions of Peace were offered to
" him; but if a Peace could not be had, but upon

“ such conditions as his Majesty judged inconsistent
 “ with his Honor, or his Conscience, no Man could
 “ have credit enough to persuade him to accept it;
 “ and that, for His own part without reflecting upon
 “ the good or ill opinion the Parliament might have
 “ of him, he would dissuade him from consenting
 “ to it.” The other seemed disappointed in his so
 positive Answer; yet, with great freedom, entered
 upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some
 kind of Apology, “ that *Scotland* was so far engaged
 “ in the Quarrel, contrary to their former Intentions,
 “ and professions,” he did as good as conclude, “ that
 “ if the King would satisfy them in the business of
 “ the Church, they would not concern themselves
 “ in any of the other Demands.” In which Propo-
 sition, finding no kind of Compliance from the Chan-
 cellor of the Exchequer, but sharp protestations
 against the demands, as inconsistent with Conscience,
 Justice, or Religion, the conference broke off, with-
 out inclination in either of them to renew it. But,
 from that time, there was more contradiction and
 quick repartees between them two throughout the
 Treaty, than between any other of the Commis-
 sioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private
 Conferences with other of the Commissioners, that
 the Parliament took none of the points in controversy
 less to heart, or were less united in, than in what
 concerned the Church.

When, upon the next meeting of the Commis-
 sioners, the Questions, which were mentioned be-
 fore, were read, and delivered by the Duke of *Rich-
 mond*, who always performed that part on the behalf

BOOK VIII. of the King's Commissioners, as the Earl of *Northumberland* did on the Parliament's, there was a visible disorder in their Countenances; some of them, smiling, said, We looked into Their Game; but without offering at any Answer, they arose, and went to their Room of consultation; where they remained in great passion, and wrangling, many hours: so that the other Commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourned till the Afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the Afternoon, and were sat, the Earl of *Northumberland* said, "that they wondered there should
 " appear any difficulty in any expressions, upon
 " which those Questions had been administered in
 " the Morning; which to Them seemed very clear
 " and plain; however, to give their Lordships satisfaction, that they had appointed another noble
 " Lord, there present, who was well acquainted
 " with the signification of all those words, to explain
 " what the common sense and meaning of them was." Thereupon, the Earl of *Lautherdale* made a discourse upon the several Questions, and what acceptation those expressions and words had. But, being a young Man, not accustomed to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having no gracious pronunciation, and full of passion, he made every thing much more difficult than it was before: So that the Commissioners desired, "that they might receive an Answer
 " in writing; since it was declared upon the entrance
 " of the Treaty, that though in Debate any Man
 " might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing
 " should be understood to be the sense of either side,
 but

“ but what was delivered in Writing; and therefore
 “ they desired, that what that Noble Lord had said,
 “ which they presumed was the sense of all the rest,
 “ because they had referred to Him, and seemed
 “ satisfied with what he had delivered, might be
 “ given to them in writing; without which they
 “ knew not how to proceed, or give an Answer to
 “ what was proposed to them.” This demand,
 founded upon a Rule of their own, which they knew
 not how to decline, put the *Scottish* Commissioners
 into great passion: for all the *English* sat still with-
 out speaking a word, as if they were not concerned.
 The Lord *Lautherdale* repeated what he had said be-
 fore, a little more distinctly; and the Chancellor of
Scotland, said, “ that the things were so plain, that
 “ no Man could chuse but understand, and remem-
 “ ber what was spoken; and that the pressing to put
 “ it in writing was only to spend time; which
 “ would be quickly out, half the time assigned for
 “ the business of Religion being to expire that
 “ night;” and therefore passionately desired them,
 “ that they would rest satisfied with what had been
 “ spoken, and proceed upon the matter.”

It was replied, “ that they could not trust their
 “ Memories so far, as to prepare an Answer to their
 “ demands concerning the Covenant, or Directory,
 “ except they were sure that they understood the
 “ full and declared meaning of their demand; which
 “ they had less reason now to believe they did, than
 “ before; since there was so much difficulty made
 “ to satisfy them in writing; and therefore they must
 “ insist upon receiving an Answer to the Papers they

B O O K " had given : " And two or three of the King's Com-
VIII. missioners withdrew, and prepared another Paper; in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made. and why they must insist upon the having it in writing; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise delivered to the others; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any Answer in writing; nor they on the King's side, to desist from demanding it: But they declared, " that " as they presumed, they should, in the end, receive " their Answer in writing, which they should not " depart from, so it was their resolution not to defer " their farther proceeding upon the matter; but they " were ready to prosecute that in the method they " would desire;" and so it was resolved, " the next " Morning, to hear the Divines, who were of either " Party, what they would say against or for Episco- " pacy, and the Government, and Lands of the " Church;" which were equally concerned in the Debate.

On the King's part, besides Dr. *Steward*, who was a Commissioner in matters relating to the Church, there was Dr. *Sheldon*, afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Lany*, afterwards Bishop of *Ely*; Dr. *Fern*, afterwards Bishop of *Chester*; Dr. *Potter*, then Dean of *Worcester*, and Provost of *Queen's College* in *Oxford*; and Dr. *Hammond*; all who, being the King's Chaplains, were sent by him to attend the Commissioners for their Devotions, and for the other Service of the Church, as the management of

the Treaty required; which could not be foreseen: On the Parliament-side, besides Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, who was the Commissioner, Mr. *Marshall* a Country-Parson in *Essex*, and an Eminent Preacher of that Party, who was the Chief Chaplain in the Army, Mr. *Vines*, a Parson likewise in *Warwickshire*, and a Scholar (both of them of the Assembly of Divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the Church, which had been so often disputed there) Mr. *Cheynel*, one who had been Fellow of *Merton-College* in *Oxford*, and two or three others; who, bearing no parts in the disputes, had not their names remembered.

Mr. *Henderson* begun rather with Rhetoric, than Logic, “ of the necessity to change the Government
“ of the Church, for the preservation of the State;
“ which was so much in danger, that it could be
“ preserved no other way; and therefore that in
“ Conscience it ought to be consented to; that the
“ Question was not about the preservation of Both,
“ which, by the Wisdom of the Parliaments of both
“ Nations, was found to be impossible; but since
“ there could but one stand, whether they should
“ be both Sacrificed, or the Church given up, that
“ the State might be preserved: nor was the Question
“ now whether Episcopacy was Lawful, and
“ the Government by Bishops consistent with Religion,
“ but whether it was so necessary, that Religion
“ could not be preserved without it; which
“ was to condemn all the Reformed Churches of
“ *Europe*, where there were no Bishops, *England*
“ only excepted. It ought therefore to suffice, that

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“ the Parliament, which best understood what was
 “ good for the Nation, had found it to be a very un-
 “ necessary, inconvenient, and corrupt Government,
 “ that had been productive of great mischief to the
 “ Kingdom from the very time of the Reformation;
 “ that the Bishops had always favored Popery, and
 “ preserved, and continued many of the Rights and
 “ Customs thereof in their Government, and Prac-
 “ tice; and had of late introduced many Innovations
 “ into the Church, by the example and pattern of the
 “ Church of *Rome*, and to the great scandal of the
 “ Protestant Churches of *Germany, France, Scotland,*
 “ and *Holland*; that they had been the occasion of
 “ the War between the two Nations of *Scotland*. and
 “ *England*; and then of the Rebellion in *Ireland*;
 “ and now of the Civil War in *England*; and there-
 “ upon, that the Parliament, in order to the uniting
 “ all the Protestant Churches, which was the only
 “ way to extinguish Popery, had resolved to change
 “ this inconvenient, mischievous Government, and
 “ erect another in the place of it, which should ad-
 “ vance Piety, and true Religion; and that he
 “ hoped the King would concur in so Godly an
 “ Action, which would prove so much for his
 “ Glory.” * He took notice of “ an odd Answer for-
 “ merly made by a King of *England*, when the alte-
 “ ration of some Laws had been desired of him,
 “ *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*; which, he said, must
 “ be a mistake in the impression: that it was impossi-
 “ ble for any King to lay it down as a Rule, that he
 “ will not change the Laws; for most Kings had
 “ changed them often for their own, and their Sub-

* Let the
 reader take
 notice that
 Mr. Henderson
 is mistaken in
 the English
 story Nolumus
 est was not
 said by a King,
 but to him.
 See Coke upon
 the Statute of
 Merton.
 Cap. 9.

“jects benefit; but the meaning must be, *Nolumus*
 “*leges Angliæ mutari*, We will change them as often
 “as there shall be occasion, but We will not suffer
 “them *mutari*, to be changed, by the presumption of
 “others, without our consent.” He said. “they did
 “not presume to think of compelling the King to
 “change the Government of the Church; but they
 “hoped he would willingly do it, upon the humble
 “Petition of both Kingdoms, and for his own, and
 “their benefit: That he should say no more, till he
 “should hear the reasons from the Divines on the
 “other side, why his Majesty should not consent to
 “the Advice of his Parliament, since he conceived
 “nothing of Conscience could be alledged against it,
 “because it appeared by what his Majesty had con-
 “sented to in *Scotland*, for the utter abolishing of
 “Bishops, that he did not believe in his Conscience,
 “that Episcopacy was absolutely necessary for the
 “support of Christian Religion.

Dr. *Steward*, with a much better countenance,
 told the Commissioners, “that he hoped and knew,
 “that their Lordships were too well acquainted with
 “the Constitution of the Church of *England*, and
 “the Foundation upon which it subsisted, to be-
 “lieve it could be shaken by any of those Arguments
 “which had been made against it. He said, that
 “though he did believe, it was impossible to prove
 “that a Government, settled and continued with-
 “out intermission, from the time when Christianity
 “was first planted in *England*, and under which the
 “Christian Religion had so much flourished, was an
 “unlawful and Anti-Christian Government; yet

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“ that he expected, that they who had sworn to
 “ abolish it, and came now to persuade their Lord-
 “ ships to concur with them in pressing the King to
 “ join in the same obligation, would not urge a less
 “ argument for such their Engagement, than the un-
 “ lawfulness, and wickedness of that Government,
 “ which Conscience obliged them to remove. But
 “ Mr *Henderson* had wisely declined that Argument,
 “ though in their Common Sermons, and other Dis-
 “ courses in Print, they gave it no better Style than
 “ *Anti-Christian*; and had urged only the inconve-
 “ niences which had fallen out from it, and benefit
 “ which would result by the Charge, of which no
 “ judgment could be made, till it might be known
 “ what Government they did intend to erect in the
 “ place of it; and since the Union with the Foreign
 “ Protestant Churches, seemed to be their greatest
 “ reason for the prodigious alteration they proposed,
 “ he wished that they would set down which Fo-
 “ reign Church it is, to which they meant to conform,
 “ and make their new Government by; for that he
 “ was assured, that the model which they seem af-
 “ fected to in their Directory, was not like to any of
 “ the Foreign Reformed Churches now in the
 “ World.” He said, “ though he would not take
 “ upon him to censure the Foreign Churches, yet it
 “ was enough known, that the most Learned Men
 “ of those Churches, had lamented that their Refor-
 “ mation was not so perfect as it ought to be, for
 “ want of Episcopacy: which they could not be
 “ suffered to have: and they had always paid that
 “ Reverence to the Church of *England*, which they

“ conceived due to it, as to the Church to which
 “ God had vouchsafed the most perfect Reformation,
 “ because it retains all that was innocent, or
 “ venerable in Antiquity.” He then enlarged upon
 the original Institution of Episcopacy; using all those
 Arguments, which are still used by the most Learned
 Men in those disputes, to prove, that without Bishops
 there could be no Ordination of Ministers, and consequently
 no administration of Sacraments, or performance of the
 Ministerial Functions. He said, “ he
 “ would not presume to say any thing of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s having consented to the abrogation of Epif-
 “ copacy in *Scotland*, though he knew what his
 “ Majesty himself thinks of it, only that he had an
 “ obligation upon him in Conscience in this King-
 “ dom, which he had not in that, his Coronation-
 “ Oath, by which he was bound to defend the
 “ Rights of the Church; and That alone would
 “ make it unlawful for his Majesty to consent to what
 “ was proposed, both in the point of Episcopacy,
 “ and the alienation of the Lands of the Church;
 “ which would be direct Sacrilege.”

Upon these several points, and what resulted from
 thence, the Divines on both sides spent all that day,
 Morning and Afternoon, till it was very late in the
 night, and most part of the next day; only the Com-
 missioners on either side, at the first coming together,
 Mornings and Afternoons, presented such Papers as
 they thought fit, upon what had passed in Debate:
 As the King’s Commissioners desired to know in
 writing, “ whether the Parliament-Commissioners
 “ did believe that the Government of the Church

BOOK " by Bishops was unlawful?" To which they could
 VIII. never obtain a Categorical Answer.

When the last of the three first days was past (for it was near twelve of the Clock at Night) and the *Scottish* Commissioners observed that nothing was consented to which they looked, for the Chancellor of *Scotland* entered into a long discourse, with much passion, against Bishops, " of the mischief they had
 " done in all Ages, and of their being the sole Causes
 " of the late Troubles in *Scotland*, and of the present
 " Troubles in *England*:" Remembered, " that the
 " Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* had pursued the Intro-
 " duction of the Liturgy and the Canons into *Scot-*
 " land, with so great vehemence, that, when it
 " was desired, that the publishing them might be
 " suspended for one Month, that the People might be
 " the better prepared to submit to what they had not
 " been before acquainted with, he would by no
 " means consent to that delay; but caused it to be
 " entered upon the next *Sunday*, against the advice
 " of many of the Bishops themselves; which put the
 " People into such a fury, that they could not be
 " appeased. He lamented and complained, that three
 " days had been now spent in fruitless Debates; and
 " that though their Divines had Learnedly made it
 " appear, that Episcopacy had no foundation in
 " Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken
 " away; and that notwithstanding it was evident,
 " that it had been the cause of great mischief, and
 " the Wisdom of Parliament had thought the utter
 " taking it away to be absolutely necessary for the
 " preservation of the Kingdom; their Lordships
 " were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one

“ particular of Importance, to give them satisfaction;
 “ from which they could not but conclude, that
 “ they did not bring that hearty inclination to Peace,
 “ which they hoped they would have done ;” and so
 concluded with some expressions more rude and in-
 solent, than were expected.

Whereupon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not
 without some commotion, said, “ that he did not
 “ wonder, that their Lordships, who had for some
 “ years been accustomed to such Discourses, and
 “ the more inclined to suppose all that was confidently
 “ said to be reasonably proved, and so having not
 “ been used to converse with any Persons of a con-
 “ trary opinion, had been brought to consent and
 “ approve those alterations, which they had pro-
 “ posed ; but that it seemed very admirable to him,
 “ that their Lordships could expect, or imagine it
 “ possible, that they who never had heard such things
 “ said before, nor could understand in so little time
 “ what had been now said, should depart from a Faith,
 “ and a form of Worship, in which they had been
 “ educated from their Cradle ; and which, upon so
 “ long observation, and experience, they looked
 “ upon with all possible approbation and reverence,
 “ upon only hearing it inveighed against three days ;
 “ which would have been much too little time to
 “ have warranted a Conversion from much less im-
 “ portant opinions, they had so long entertained ;
 “ though their Arguments had Had as much weight
 “ as they wanted.” He said, “ they were of opinion,
 “ that all those mischiefs and inconveniences which
 “ they had mentioned, had in truth proceeded from an

BOOK VIII. “ over-vehement desire to overthrow Episcopacy,
 “ not from the Zeal to support it: that if the Arch-
 “ Bishop of *Canterbury* had been too precipitate in
 “ pressing the reception of that, which he thought a
 “ Reformation, he paid dearly for it; which made
 “ him the more wonder, that they should blame
 “ Them, for not submitting to much greater altera-
 “ tions, than were at that time proposed, in three
 “ days; when they reproached Him, for not having
 “ given Them a whole Month to consider.” He said,
 “ he might assure their Lordships with great sincere-
 “ rity, that they were come thither with all imagin-
 “ able passion and desire, that the Treaty might con-
 “ clude in a happy and blessed Peace, as he still
 “ hoped it would; but if it should be otherwise, that
 “ they would still believe, their Lordships brought
 “ with them the same honorable and pious Inclina-
 “ tions, though the Instructions, and Commands from
 “ those who trusted them, restrained them from con-
 “ senting to what in their own judgments seemed rea-
 “ sonable.” And so, without any manner of reply,
 both sides arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

There happened a pleasant Accident on one of these days, which were assigned for the matter of Religion. The Commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the Fire-side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely Cold, in general and casual discourses: One of the King's Commissioners asked one of the other with whom he had familiarity, in a low Voice, “ why there was not in their whole Directory,
 “ any mention at all of the Creed, or the Ten Coma-

“mandments, and so little of the Lord’s Prayer?” which is only once recommended. The Earl of *Pembroke*, overhearing the discourse, answered aloud, and with his usual passion, “that He, and many others, were very sorry that they had been left out; that the putting them in had taken up many hours Debate in the House of Commons, and that at last the leaving them out had been carried by eight or nine Voices; and so they did not think fit to insist upon the addition of them in the House of Peers; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and he verily believed, if it were to do again, they should carry it for the inserting them all; which made many smile, to hear that the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the Question, and rejected:” And many of the other were troubled, and out of countenance with the reason the good Lord had given for the Exclusion.

The next Subject of the Treaty was the business of the Militia; which their Commissioners positively required, “to be entirely vested in the Parliament, and in such Persons as they thought fit to be confided in. This they said, was more necessary than ever, for the securing the People from their Fears and Jealousies; which were now much increased, and were capable of being assuaged by no other means:” and delivered a large Paper to that purpose, which contained no more than had been often said in their Declarations, and as often answered in those which had been published by the King. And when the Commissioners of the King, whereof there were four very Eminent in the knowledge of the

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Secondly of the
Militia.

B O O K Law, Lane, Gardiner, Brigdman, and Palmer, made
VIII. the demand appear to be without any pretence of Law, or Justice, and asserted it to be vested in the King by the Law, they never offered to alledge any other Argument, than the determination of the Parliament, which had declared the right of the Militia to be in Them, from which they could not recede; so that the Conferences were very short upon those days, but the Papers very long which were mutually delivered; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who most desired the Peace) both publicly and privately insisting "upon
 " having the whole Command of the Militia by Sea,
 " and Land, and all the Ports, and Ships of the
 " Kingdom at their disposal; without which they
 " looked upon themselves as lost, and at the King's
 " Mercy;" not considering that He must be at Their's, if such a Power was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them, thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary Security; and believed it could proceed from nothing else, but a Resolution to take the highest Vengeance upon their Rebellion.

Thirdly of
 Ireland.

Then they entered upon the business of *Ireland*; in which they thought they had the King at a very great advantage; and that his Commissioners would not be able to answer the Charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the Commissioners on the King's part, who had not been well acquainted with those Transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the King had been necessitated to do; and any thing of Grace towards the

Irish Rebels, was as ungracious at *Oxford*, as it was at *London*; because they knew the whole Kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that Rebellion; "how the King had voluntarily committed the carrying on that War to the two Houses of Parliament; that they had Levied great Sums of Money upon the Kingdom for that Service; but finding that it was like to bring a greater Burden upon the Kingdom than it could bear, that his Majesty had consented to an Act of Parliament for the Encouragement of Adventurers to bring in Money, upon assurance of having Land assigned to them in that Kingdom, out of the Forfeitures of the Rebels, as soon as the Rebellion should be suppressed; and had likewise, by the same Act, put it out of his Power to make any Peace, or Cessation with those Rebels, or to grant Pardon to any of them without consent of Parliament; and thereupon many of his Majesty's Subjects had brought in very considerable Sums of Money, by which they had been able to manage that War without putting this Kingdom to farther Charge; and God had so blessed the Protestant Forces there, that they had subdued and vanquished the Rebels in all Encounters; and, probably, by that time, the whole Rebellion had been extinguished, if the King had not, contrary to his promise, and obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a Cessation with those Execrable Rebels, when they were not able to continue the War; and had called over many of those Regiments, which the Parliament

BOOK " had sent over against the *Irish*, to return hither to
 VIII. " Fight against the Parliament: by means whereof
 " his Protestant Subjects of that Kingdom were in
 " great danger to be destroyed, and the Kingdom
 " to be entirely possessed by the Papists." They enlarged themselves upon this Subject, with all the invidious insinuations they could devise, to make the People believe, that the King was inclined to, and favored that Rebellion. They demanded, " that
 " the King would forthwith declare that Cession to
 " be void; and that he would prosecute the War
 " against those Rebels with the utmost fury; and
 " that the Act of Parliament for their reduction,
 " might be executed as it ought to be."

The Commissioners of the King prepared and delivered a very full Answer in writing to all their Demands; at the delivery whereof, they appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars, which proved the Counsels that had been taken, just, and necessary. This he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the Parliament were in much Confusion, and the King's Commissioners much pleased. He put them in mind of " their bringing those very Troops, which were
 " Levied by the King's Authority for the Suppression of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, to Fight against
 " the King at *Edge-hill*, under the Command of the
 " Earl of *Essex*; of their having given over the prosecution of that War, or sending any supply of
 " Arms, Money, or Ammunition thither; having
 " employed those Magazines which were provided
 " for that Service, against his Majesty; insomuch

“ as the Privy-Council of that Kingdom had sent to
 “ his Majesty, that he would provide some other
 “ way for the preservation of that Kingdom, since
 “ they could not be able to support the War any
 “ longer, against the United Power of the Rebels:
 “ That all Overtures, which his Majesty had made
 “ towards Peace, had been rejected by the Parlia-
 “ ment; and one hundred thousand pounds, brought
 “ in by the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had been sent
 “ in one entire Sum into *Scotland*, to prepare and
 “ dispose that Kingdom to send an Army to Invade
 “ This; which they had done, and till then his
 “ Majesty had not, in the least degree, swerved
 “ from the observation of that Act of Parliament;
 “ but when he saw that the Parliament, instead of
 “ prosecuting the end and intention of that Statute,
 “ applied it wholly to the carrying on the War against
 “ Himself, he thought himself absolved before God
 “ and Man, if he did all he could to rescue and de-
 “ fend himself against their Violence, by making a
 “ Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and by
 “ drawing over some Regiments of his own Army
 “ from thence, to assist him in *England*: which Ces-
 “ sation had hitherto preserved the Protestants of
 “ that Kingdom; who were not able without supplies
 “ to preserve themselves from the strength and
 “ power of the Rebels; which supplies his Majesty
 “ could not, and the Parliament would not send;
 “ and therefore, if the Protestants there, should here-
 “ after be oppressed by the Rebels, who every day
 “ procured assistance from abroad, and so were like
 “ to be more powerful, all the Mischiefs and Misery

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BOOK " that must attend them, would, before God and
 VIII. " Man, be put to the Account of the Parliament;
 " which had defrauded them of those supplies, which,
 " by his Majesty's care, had been raised, and pro-
 " vided for them; and not to his Majesty, who had
 " done nothing but what he was obliged to do for
 " his own preservation; and if he had not sent for
 " those Soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have
 " stayed there without a supply of Money, Clothes,
 " and Provisions; which the Parliament had not
 " yet sent to that part of the Army which remained
 " there, and which could by no other way have
 " subsisted, but by the benefit, and security of the
 " Cessation."

He told them, " that all this unjustifiable way of
 " proceeding, though it had compelled the King to
 " yield to a Cessation, yet could not prevail with
 " him to make a Peace with the *Irish* Rebels; from
 " whom he had admitted Commissioners to attend
 " him with propositions to that purpose; but that,
 " when he found those Propositions and Demands so
 " unreasonable, that he could not consent to them
 " in Conscience, and that they were inconsistent
 " with the security of his Protestant Subjects there,
 " he had totally rejected them, and dismissed their
 " Commissioners with severe and sharp Animadver-
 " sions: yet that he had given his Lieutenant, and
 " Council there, Authority to continue the Cessa-
 " tion longer, in hope that the Rebels there, might
 " be reduced to better Temper; or that his Majesty
 " might be enabled by a happy Peace here, which
 " he hoped this Treaty would produce, to Chastise
 their

“ their odious and obstinate Rebellion : And if the
 “ Parliament would yet give his Majesty sufficient
 “ caution that the War should be vigorously profe-
 “ cuted there against the *Irish*, by sending over
 “ strong Supplies of Men and Money , he would
 “ put an end to that Cessation without declaring it
 “ to be void ; which otherwise he could not in Jus-
 “ tice do , and the doing whereof would be to no
 “ purpose.”

The Commissioners, visibly out of Countenance and Angry , made no other reply, but “ that they
 “ were sorry to find , that odious and detestable
 “ Rebellion had received so much Grace , as that
 “ Commissioners from it had been admitted into the
 “ King’s Presence ; and that they wondered, there
 “ should be any scruple made of Declaring that Cef-
 “ sation void, that was entered into expressly against
 “ the Letter of an Act of Parliament.” This reply they
 gave in writing , with many pathetical expressions
 against the Murders and Cruelties , that had been
 used in the beginning of that Rebellion ; which
 obliged the King’s Commissioners to a little more
 sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to ;
 and to tell them , “ That they wished it were in the
 “ King’s Power to punish all Rebellion , with that
 “ severity that was due to it ; but since it was not so ,
 “ he must condescend to Treaties , and to all other
 “ Expedients which are necessary to reduce his Sub-
 “ jects who are in Rebellion , to return to their Duty
 “ and Obedience.”

The nine first days were now spent upon the three
 great heads , in which there was little advance made

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towards giving satisfaction to either Party; for though, in the matter of Religion, the King's Commissioners had made such condescensions, as would oblige Bishops to be more diligent in Preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their Jurisdiction; yet no such Reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten; and they were sensible, that in the matter of *Ireland*, the King's defence would weigh down their Clamor and Calumny. There happened some Accidents in this time of the Treaty, which made impression on each Party; the first was found in the looks of the Parliament-Commissioners, upon the Advertisement they received, that Sir *Lewis Dives*, who was Governor of a small Garrison in *Sherborne* in *Dorsetshire*, had from thence, in a Night, upon Intelligence with the King's Governor of *Portland-Castle*, surpris'd *Weymouth*, a Sea-Port possessed by the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King.

But whilst the King's Commissioners entertained some hope that this loss might have the more disposed the Parliament to a just Peace, they received Advertisement of a much greater loss sustained by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel *Langhorn*, and *Milton*, two very Active Officers in the Parliament-Service, about *Shropshire* and *North-Wales*, by correspondence with some Townsmen, and some Soldiers in the Garrison of *Shrewsbury*, from whence too many of that Garrison

were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon some Expedition, seized upon that Town in the Night; and, by the same Treachery, likewise entered the Castle; where Sir *Michael Earnly* the Governor had been long sick, and rising, upon the Alarm, out of his Bed, was killed in his Shirt; whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible; and refused Quarter; which did not shorten his Life many days, he being even at the point of Death by a Consumption; which kept him from performing all those Offices of Vigilance he was accustomed to; being a Gallant Gentleman, who understood the Office and Duty of a Soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of *Shrewsbury* was a great blow to the King, and straitened his Quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure Line of Communication with *Chester*, and exposed all North-Wales, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*, to the daily inroads of the Enemy: and the News of this, recovered the dejected Spirits of the Parliament-Commissioners at *Uxbridge*.

Yet there had been an odd Accident which accompanied the Enterprize upon *Weymouth*, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sir *Lewis Dives* had, in his March from *Sherborne*, intercepted a Packet of Letters sent out of *Somersetshire* to the Parliament; and among those, there was a Letter from *John Pyne*, a Gentleman well known, and of a fair Estate in that Country, to Colonel *Edward Popham*, a principal Officer of the Parliament in their Fleets at Sea, and of a passionate and virulent Temper, of the Independent Party. The Subject of the Letter was a bitter invective against the Earl of *Essex*, and all those who

BOOK advanced the Treaty of Peace, and a great detestation
 VIII. of the Peace, with very indecent expressions against the King himself, and all who adhered to him. This Letter had been sent by Sir *Lewis Dives* to one of the Secretaries at *Oxford*, and from Him to the Commissioners at *Uxbridge*; who, as soon as they received it, communicated it to some of those Commissioners, who they knew desired a Peace, and were very great Friends to the Earl of *Essex*. The *Scots* were likewise as much inveighed against as any Body else. They to whom this Letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advised, "that the Marquis of *Hertford*, might send " a Copy of it to his Brother the Earl of *Essex*, with " such reflections as He thought fit:" which being done accordingly, the Earl of *Essex*, who was yet General, took it so much to heart that he desired the Marquis of *Hertford* would send him the Original; which was presently done; hoping that it would have given some Advantage to the Earl of *Essex*, towards whom the Parliament yet behaved itself with all imaginable decency and respect.

The Conversation that this Letter occasioned between some of the Commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the Faction that was in the Parliament: that there were many who desired to have Peace, without any alteration in the Government, so they might be sure of Indemnity, and security for what was past; that the *Scots* would insist upon the whole Government of the Church, and in all other Matters would defer to the King; but that there was another Party,

that would have no Peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the Government in State, as well as Church; which made a great Party in the Army: all those of the Parliament who desired to remove the Earl of *Essex* from being General of the Army, and to make another General, were of that Party. There was likewise, among the Commissioners themselves, very little Trust, and Communication; Sir *Harry Vane*, *Saint-John*, and *Prideaux*, being, upon the matter, but Spies upon the rest; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a Peace, even upon any Terms, yet none of them had the Courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant Demand. Besides, there was reason enough to believe, that, if the King had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly Demanded, and upon the delivering up of all those Persons who had faithfully served the King, and had been by them always excepted, as Persons never to be Pardoned.

For though they had assigned those three general Heads, of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, to be first Treated upon, which were all plausible and popular Arguments, and in which they who most desired Peace, would insist at least upon many condescensions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declined any other of their Propositions; as the exemption of many of the greatest Quality, or of the most declared Affections to the King, in the three Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, from Pardon; and the making the Estates of the rest, under

BOOK VIII. the Name of Delinquents, liable to pay the Charges of the War; from which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, the Houses had not in their Instructions given their Commissioners Authority, in the least particle to recede: They who desired Peace, being satisfied, that they had prevailed to have a Treaty, which they imagined would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands, would fall off, of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars which more concerned the public; and, on the other side, they who resolved the Treaty should be ineffectual, were well content, that their Commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three Generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the Propositions concerning those particulars; being satisfied, that in the particular which concerned the Church, the *Scots* would never depart from a tittle; and as sure, that the King would never yield to it; and that, in the *Milicia*, they who most desired Peace, would adhere to that which most concerned their own Security; and in the business of *Ireland*, besides the opportunity to asperse the King, upon an Argument in which the People generally concurred with them, they were safe enough; except the King should absolutely retract, and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the Cassation void, expose all those who had a hand in it, to Their censure, and judgment; and so dissolve all the Authority he had in that Kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their Treaty, without bringing any of their other

demands into Debate; which would have spent much time, and raised great difference in opinion among them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the King satisfied them in the Terms of those three Propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest; which could not relate so much to his Conscience, or his Honor, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that, if, by the King's Condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former Three, they who had most passion for Peace, would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those Men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remained to be demanded.

One Night, late, the Earl of *Pembroke* came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Lodging, to return him a visit; and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him, to think it reasonable to consent to all that the Parliament had demanded. He told him, "that there was never such a
 " Pack of Knaves, and Villains, as they who now
 " governed in the Parliament; who would so far
 " prevail, if this Treaty were broke off, as to remove
 " the Earl of *Essex*; and then they would constitute
 " such an Army as should force the Parliament, as
 " well as the King, to consent to whatsoever they
 " demanded; which would end in the Change of
 " the Government into a Common-wealth." The Chancellor told him, "if he believed That, it was
 " high time for the Lords to look about them, who
 " would be then no less concerned than the King."

BOOK VIII. He confessed it, and “that they were now sensible,
 “that they had brought this mischief upon themselves;
 “and did heartily repent it, though too late;
 “and when they were, in no degree, able to prevent
 “the general destruction, which they foresaw: but,
 “if the King would be so gracious to them, as to
 “preserve them, by consenting to those unreasonable
 “Propositions which were made by the Parliament,
 “the other wicked Persons would be disappointed by such his
 “concessions; the Earl of *Essex* would still keep his
 “power; and they should be able, in a short time after
 “the Peace concluded, by adhering to the King, whom
 “they would never forsake hereafter, to recover all for him
 “that he now parted with, and to drive these wicked Men,
 “who would destroy Monarchy, out of the Kingdom;
 “and then his Majesty would be greater than ever.” How
 “extravagant soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of
 “it was the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there
 “were Men of very good parts among them, did seriously
 “urge to other of the King’s Commissioners, with whom they
 “had the same confidence: so broken they were in their
 “Spirits, and so corrupted in their Understanding, even
 “when they had their own ruin in their View.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was the proudest Man alive, could not look upon the Destruction of Monarchy, and the contempt the Nobility was already reduced to, and which must be then increased, with any pleasure: yet the repulse he had formerly received at *Oxford*, upon his Addresses thither, and the fair escape he had made afterwards from the

jealousy of the Parliament, had wrought so far upon him, that he resolved no more to depend upon the one, or to provoke the other, and was willing to see the King's Power and Authority so much restrained, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

The Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, were so totally without credit, or interest in the Parliament, or Country, that it was no matter which way Their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their Fear of the Faction that prevailed, was so much greater than their Hatred towards them, that though they wished They might rather be destroyed than the King, they had rather the King and his Posterity should be destroyed, than that *Wilton* should be taken from the one of them, or *Hatfield* from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believed to be the highest point of prudence, and politic circumspection.

The Earl of *Denbigh* had much greater parts, and saw farther before him into the desperate designs of that Party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his Nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his Ingratitude to the King, in some respects superior to Theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the Company with whom he had conversed too long. Though he had received from them most signal Affronts and Indignities, and well knew he should never more be employed by them, yet he thought the King's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compelled to yield to

B O O K worse conditions than were now offered to Him.
VIII. He conferred with so much freedom with one of the King's Commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great Friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his Companions. With Him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the King, with expressions of great compunction; and protested, "that
" he would most willingly redeem his Transgressions
" by any attempt that might serve the King signally,
" though he were sure to lose his Life in it; but that
" to lose Himself, without any benefit to the King,
" would expose him to all misery; which he would
" decline, by not separating from his Party." He informed him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then governed the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagined; and had a full prospect of the vile condition Himself, and all the Nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it, by any Authority of their own; and concluded, "that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by
" losing his Life, he might preserve the King, he
" would embrace the Occasion; otherwise, he would
" shift the best he could for himself."

Of the Commissioners of the House of Commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a Peace, and upon much honestier conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their

minds freely enough, severally, to those Commissioners of the King's side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own Companions, use that freedom. The Debate that had been in the House upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*, had raised so many Jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any Man intended to do; many who had, from the beginning of the Troubles, professed to have most devotion for the Earl of *Essex*, and to abhor all his Enemies, had lately seemed to concur in that Ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonor and destruction; and others who seemed still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

Hollis, who was the frankest among them in owning his Animosity and Indignation against all the Independent Party, and was no otherwise affected to the Presbyterians, than as they constituted a Party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who appeared most resolute to concur with him, would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of Courage, in which he abounded. *Whitlock*, who, from the beginning, had concurred with them without any Inclinations to their Persons, or their Principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his Estate was in their Quarters, and he had a Nature that could not bear, or submit to be undone: though to his Friends, who were Commissioners for the King, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation

BOOK of all the proceedings of his Party: yet could not leave
 VIII. them. *Pierpoint*, and *Crew*, who were both Men of great Fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their Counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appeared now to have contracted more bitterness, and sourness than formerly; and were more reserved towards the King's Commissioners, than was expected; and in all Conferences insisted peremptorily, "that the King must yield to whatsoever was required in the three Demands, which had been Debated." They all valued themselves "upon having induced the Parliament, against all Opposition, to consent to a Treaty; which producing no effect. they should hereafter have no more credit;" and it plainly appeared, that they had persuaded themselves, that, in the Treaty, they should be able to persuade the King's Commissioners to concur with them; and that the King would yield upon the very same argument, and expectation, that the Earl of *Pembroke* had offered to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Some of them, who knew how impossible it was to prevail with the Commissioners, or, if They could be corrupted so far in their judgments, how much more impossible it would be to persuade the King to consent to what was so diametrically against his Conscience, and his Honor; and, in truth, against his Security, did wish, "that, to get the time of the Treaty prolonged, some Concessions might be made in the point of the Militia, in order to their security; which being provided for, might probably take off many Persons, who, out of that

“ consideration principally, advised to those who
 “ they thought were most jealous of it, and most so-
 “ licitous for it.” This seemed such an Expedient to
 those to whom they proposed it, that they thought
 fit to make a Debate among all the Commissioners
 about it; “ and if it should produce no other effect,
 “ than the getting more days to the Treaty, and
 “ making more Divisions in the Parliament, both
 “ which they might naturally expect from it, the be-
 “ nefit was not small that would attend it; for, as
 “ long as the Treaty lasted, there could be little ad-
 “ vance made towards new-modelling the Army, the
 “ delay whereof would give the King likewise more
 “ time to make his Preparations for the Field; to-
 “ wards which he was in no forwardness.” This
 consideration prevailed with the Commissioners to
 send their opinion to the King, “ that he would give
 “ them leave to propose, when the next day came
 “ for the Debate of the point of the Militia, that the
 “ whole Militia of the Kingdom should be settled
 “ in such a Number of Persons, for seven or eight
 “ years, who might be all sworn to the observation
 “ of all the Articles which should be agreed upon in
 “ the Treaty; after the expiration of which time,
 “ which would be sufficient to extinguish all jea-
 “ lousies, it should be restored to the King.” And
 they sent the King a List of such Names, as they
 wished might be inserted in the Proposition, of Per-
 sons in Credit with the Parliament, to which his Ma-
 jesty might add the like Number of such, of whose
 Fidelity he was most assured.

The Earls of *Essex*, *Northumberland*, *Warwick*, and

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Manchester, with *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell*, were among those they recommended to be named by the King. With this Message they sent two of their own Body, who added other reasons, which they conceived might prevail with Him; and it was with great difficulty that his Majesty was prevailed with to consent, that such an Overture should be made. But being unwilling to dissent from his Commissioners judgement, and believing it would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time by lengthening the Treaty, his Majesty was contented, that the Commissioners should make such an Offer as is mentioned, and name the Persons they had proposed of the Parliament-Party; and withal, he sent a List of such Persons as himself thought fit to trust in that Affair; in whom, together with the others, he would have the power of the Militia to be vested. But by this time, the Term assigned for the Treaty drawing towards an end, they who had at first advised this Expedient, had not the same opinion of the success; and had plainly discovered, that the Parliament would not consent to add one day more to the Treaty. So the farther prosecution of the Overture in that manner was laid aside. For the King's Commissioners concluded, "that at this time to offer any particular
 " Names from the King to be trusted with the Militia,
 " was but to expose those Persons to reproach, as
 " some of them were very ungracious and unpopu-
 " lar to them; and to give the other side an excuse
 " for rejecting the offer, upon exception to their
 " Persons." However, that they might see a greater condescension from the King in that point, than he

had ever yet been induced to, they offered, “ that
“ the Militia should be so settled for the space of
“ seven years, as they had desired in such a Number
“ of Persons as should be agreed upon ; a moiety of
“ which Persons should be nominated by the King,
“ and the other moiety by the Parliament : ” which
was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

From this time the Commissioners, on both sides, grew more reserved, and colder towards each other; infomuch as in the last Conferences, the Answers and Replies upon one another, were sharper and more reflecting than they had formerly been: and in their Conference upon the last day, which held most part of the Night, it was evident, either side labored most to make the other seem to be most in fault. The King's Commissioners delivered a Paper, which contained a Sun of all that had been done in the Treaty, and observed, “ that after a War of so many
“ years, entered into, as was pretended, for the
“ Defence, and Vindication of the Laws of the Land,
“ and the Liberty of the Subject, in a Treaty of
“ twenty days, they had not demanded any one
“ thing, that, by the Law of the Land, they had the
“ least Title do demand; but insisted only on such
“ particulars as were against Law, and the established
“ Government of the Kingdom; and that much more
“ had been offered to them for the obtaining of
“ Peace, than they could with justice or reason re-
“ quire : ” with which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the Paper, upon pretence, “ that the time for the Treaty was
“ expired; ” because it was then after twelve of the

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Clock of the Night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding, that it would not be less public, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted a little before the break of day.

The end of
the Treaty
without effect.

The next day, being *Sunday*, they rested in the Town, that they might in the Afternoon decently take their leaves of each other; though *Monday*, according to the Letter of their Pass, was the last day of their freedom, and at that Season of the year their Journey to *Oxford* might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the Commissioners for the Parliament, had given them a Paper in which they declared, "that they might safely make use of another day for their return, of which no Advantage should be taken." But they having on *Sunday*, performed their mutual Visits to each other, parted with such coolness towards each other, as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the King's Commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, that they were on the *Monday* Morning so early in their Coaches, that they came to *Oxford* that Night, and kissed the King's hand; who received them very graciously; thanking them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great, and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their Lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that Treaty. The Commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the Clock in the Morning. Besides, They were obliged to sit up later who were to prepare such
Papers

Papers as were directed for the next day, and to write Letters to *Oxford*; so that, if the Treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the Commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to *Oxford*. Thus ended the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, the particulars whereof were, by the King's Command, shortly after published in Print, and never contradicted by the Parliament.

The King spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more Melancholy of his own Condition, and the State of his Affairs, than he had used to do. The loss of *Shrewsbury* was attended with many ill Consequences; and that which had seemed to bring some kind of recompence for it, the Surprise of *Weymouth*, proved but a Dream; for the Enemy had lost but one part of the Town, which they, in a short time after, recovered again by the usual Negligence of the King's Governors. So that his Majesty told them, "He found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the Prince his Son from himself, that the Enemy might not, upon any Success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands whilst his Son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm." He seemed to have very reasonable Apprehensions, that upon the loss of a Battle, he might become a Prisoner; but he never imagined, that it would enter into their thoughts to take away his Life; not that he believed they could be restrained

B O O K from that Impious Act, by any remorse of Con-
 VIII. science, or that they had not wickedness enough to
 design, and execute it: but he believed it against
 their Interest; and would often, in discourse, say,
 “ of what moment the preservation of his Life was
 “ to the Rebels; and how much they were concerned
 “ to preserve it, in regard, that if he Himself were
 “ dead the Parliament stood dissolved; so that there
 “ would be an end of their Government:” which,
 though it were true in Law, would have little shaken
 their Power, of which they were too long possessed
 to part with it easily.

This was a speculation of that Nature, that no
 body had reason to endeavour to change the King’s
 opinion in that particular; and his Majesty thought of
 nothing so much as hastening the Prince’s Journey;
 and to that purpose, Commanded those who were
 appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day,
 resolving that his Highness should make his Journey
 directly to *Bristol*, and continue his residence there,
 till some emergent alteration should make his remove
 from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was
 made of raising an Army in the West, the King had
 no purpose to put the Prince into the head of any
 such Army; and though *Coring* had prevailed to be
 sent, with a strong Party of Horse, and some Foot,
 into *Hampshire*, upon pretence of securing the West
 from *Waller’s* Incurſion, and upon some other design;
 yet the King had not the least purpose, that he should
 be where the Prince was; though he was not himself
 without that design at that present, as shall be made
 out anon, meaning by that device to withdraw him-

self from the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which the King did not apprehend. But his Majesty having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the Lord *Hopton* to *Bristol* to provide a House for his Highness, and to put that City into as good a posture of Security for the Prince's residence, as was necessary; nor was there any other Strength designed to attend about his Highness' Person, than one Regiment of Horse, and one Regiment of Foot, for his Guards, both to be under the Command of the Lord *Capel*; who was likewise to raise them upon his own Credit and Interest; there being, at that time, not one Man raised of Horse or Foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the Prince's Family, or his Person. In so great scarcity, and poverty, was the King himself, and his Court at *Oxford*.

There happened an Accident at this time, that reconciled the minds of many to this Journey of the Prince into the West, and looked like a good Omen that it would produce good effects; though it proved afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King returned through *Somersetshire*, after the Defeat of the Earl of *Essex* in *Cornwall*, there had been a Petition delivered to him, in the Names of the Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and others his Majesty's Protestant Subjects of the County of *Somerset*, in which they desired, "that his Majesty
" would give them leave to Petition the Parliament,
" that there might be a Treaty for Peace; and that
" they might have liberty to wait upon his Majesty
" in Person in his march; and that when they came

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“ to a nearer distance, they might then go before,
 “ and deliver their Petition; and if they should not
 “ obtain their so just Request, they would then
 “ assist his Majesty to get that by the Sword, which
 “ could be obtained no other way.” To that purpose, they desired leave “ to put themselves in Arms,
 “ to attend his Majesty in the Journey.” This Petition, how indigested, or impracticable soever in the manner, and way proposed was contrived by some Persons of unquestionable Fidelity to the King; who thought, that under this specious Title of Petitioners for Peace, they might draw even that whole Populous County to appear for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired; believing it possible, that he might even from thence recruit his Foot; which he most desired. But his Majesty’s speedy march, left that design to be better weighed and digested.

Upon the first Fame of the Prince’s being to visit the West, and to keep his Court there, some Gentlemen, of the best Quality in the West. came to *Oxford*, as intrusted by the rest to acquaint his Majesty,
 “ that they had now formed the Design, they had
 “ formerly presented to him, much better than it
 “ was; and that the four Western Counties, *Dorset*,
 “ *Somerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, had resolved to
 “ enter into an Association, and to be joint Petitioners to the Parliament for Peace; and that their
 “ Petition should be sent by very many thousands of
 “ the most substantial Freeholders of the several
 “ Counties, who should have Money enough in
 “ their Purſes to defray their Charges, going and

“ returning; and whosoever refused to join in the
 “ Petition, should be looked upon as Enemies to
 “ Peace and their Country, and accordingly treated;
 “ so that this Address could not but have great influ-
 “ ence upon the Parliament, being under the Style
 “ of One and All; and could not but be looked upon
 “ as such.” They desired the King, “ that the Prince
 “ might be made General of this Association; in
 “ order to which, they would provide for his support
 “ according to his Dignity; and, in the first place,
 “ take care for the raising a good Guard of Horse
 “ and Foot, for the safety of his Person.”

Though this design, in the Notions thereof, was as unpracticable as the former, yet his Majesty thought not fit to discountenance, and reject it. It was very vehemently pressed by many Persons of Quality, in the name of the four Western Counties, and among those who took it most to heart, Sir *John Stawel* was the Chief; a Gentleman of one of the largest Estates, that any Man possessed in the West, who had, from the beginning of the Parliament, showed very great Affection to the Person of the King, and to the Government that was settled, both in Church and State; and from the beginning of the War had engaged both his own Person, and his two Sons, in the most active part of it, with singular Courage; and had rendered himself as odious to the Parliament, as any Man of that condition had done. This Gentleman was assisted, and counselled by Mr. *Fountain*, a Lawyer of Eminency, who had been imprisoned, and banished *London*, for his declared Affection to the Crown; and they two had

BOOK first entertained and formed this project in their own
VIII. thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some Gentlemen, and more of the Farmers, and Freeholders of the County, found such a general concurrence with them, that they concluded it could not but have good Success, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of Peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolved, and believed all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from Peace; so that the King concluded, that he would so far comply with them, as to make the Prince General of their Association; which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the condescension, that they promised speedily to make Provision for the Prince's support, and for the raising his Guards of Horse and Foot; and to that purpose made haste to *Bristol*, that all things might be ready against the Prince came thither.

The Prince of Wales made General of the King's Forces, and of the Association.

Upon these reasons, the Prince had two Commissions granted to him; one, to be General of the Association; and another, to be General of all the King's Forces in *England*. For when the King declared his Nephew Prince *Rupert* to be General, in the place of the Earl of *Brentford*, his Highness desired, "that there might be no General in *England* but the Prince of *Wales*, and that he might receive his Commission from Him;" which his Majesty took well; and so that Commission of Generalissimo was likewise given to the Prince, when in truth it was resolved he should Act no part in either, but remain quiet in *Bristol*, till the fate of all Armies could be better discerned.

The Indisposition and Melancholy which possessed the Court at *Oxford*, and all the King's Party, was preserved from despair, only by the extraordinary Discontents and Animosities in the Parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had had by united Counsels. As soon as the Commissioners were returned from *Uxbridge*, and that a Treaty could be now no farther urged, the Independent Party (for so they were now contented to be called, in opposition to the other which was styled Presbyterian) appeared bare-faced, and vigorously pressed on their *Self-denying Ordinance*, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new Army, by putting out the old Officers; during the suspension whereof, there was no care for providing for the Troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those Provisions, which would be necessary for taking the Field. They were now entered into the Month of *March*, which was used as a strong Argument by both Parties, the one urging, "from
" the Season of the year, the necessity of expedi-
" ting their resolution for the passing the Ordinance,
" that the Army might be put into a posture of mar-
" ching;" the other pressing, "that so great an
" Alteration ought not to be attempted, when there
" was so short a time to make it in: That there
" would be apparent danger, that the Enemy would
" find them, without any Army at all fit to take the
" Field;" and therefore desired, "that all things
" might stand as they were, till the end of the next
" Campaign; when, if they saw cause, they might
" resume this Expedient." The other Party were

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loud against the delay ; and said, “ that was the way
“ to make the War last ; for managed as it had been,
“ they should be found at the end of the next Cam-
“ paign in the same posture they were now in ;
“ whereas they made no doubt but, if this Ordi-
“ nance was passed, they should proceed so vigor-
“ ously, that the next Campaign should put an
“ end to the War.”

The Debate continued many days in the House of Commons, with much passion, and sharp reflections upon Things, and Persons ; whilst the House of Peers looked on, and attended the resolution below. Of the Presbyterian Party, which passionately opposed the Ordinance, the chief were, *Hollis, Stapleton, Glin, Waller, Long*, and others, who believed their Party much Superior in Number ; as the Independent Party was led by *Nathaniel Fiennes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerig, Martin*, and others ; who spoke more and warmer than they that opposed them. Of the House of Peers, there was none thought to be of this last Party, but the Lord *Say* ; all the rest were supposed to be of the Earl of *Essex's* Party ; and so, that it was impossible that the Ordinance should ever pass in the House of Peers, though it should be carried by the Commons : But they were in This, as in many other things, disappointed ; for many, who had sat silent, and been thought to have been of one Party, appeared to be of the other. They who thought they could never be secure in any Peace, except the King were first at their Mercy, and so obliged to accept the conditions they would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the War : and many,

who thought the Earl of *Essex* behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the Command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be angered, and humbled, that Himself might be more concerned to advance a Peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the Supreme Command.

When the Debate grew ripe, *Saint-John, Pierpoint, Whitlock*, and *Crew*, who had been thought to be of the Party of the Earl of *Essex*, appeared for passing the Ordinance, as the only way to unite their Counsels, and to resist the Common Enemy; saying, “they discovered by what they heard abroad, and “by the Spirit that governed in the City, that there “would be a general dissatisfaction in the People, if “this Ordinance were not passed.” Then they fell into a high Admiration of the Earl of *Essex*, extolling his great merit, and seemed to fear, “that the War “would never be carried on so happily, as it had “been under Him; or if it were, that the good success must be still imputed to his Conduct, and “Courage, which had formed their Armies, and “taught them to Fight.” By this kind of Oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for Peace and Unity, they so far prevailed over those who were still surpris’d, and led by some Craft, that the Ordinance was passed in the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Peers for their Consent; where no body imagined it would ever pass.

The Self-de-
nying Ordi-
nance passes
the Commons.

After the Battle at *York*, and that the Earl of *Manchester* was required to march with his Army

BOOK against the King, upon the defeat of the Earl of *Essex*
VIII. in *Cornwall*, the *Scottish* Army marched Northward,
 to reduce the little Garrisons remaining in those parts;
 which was easily done. After which they marched to
New-Castle; which, being defended only by the
 Townsmen, and in no degré fortified for a Siege,
 was given up to them, after as good a resistance as
 could be made in such a place, and by such People.
 So that they having no more to do in those parts,
 the Parliament thought not fit however to dismiss
 them to return into their own Country, not know-
 ing yet, how far their new-modelled Army would
 be able to carry on all their designs. And therefore
 the *Scottish* Army was again advanced as far as *York*,
 and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

An account of
 the Earl of
 Mountrose's
 Expedition
 into Scotland.

The King had formerly, towards the end of the
 year forty-three, considered how to give such a
 disturbance to *Scotland*, as might oblige their Army
 to stay at home to quench a Fire in their own
 Country; but all the Advance, which had been
 made towards the execution of that design, in the
 Conferences with the Earl of *Mountrose* and in the
 Commitment of Duke *Hamilton*, had been checked
 for some time, by the King's not being able to give
 any Troops to that Earl, by the Protection whereof
 the Loyal Party of that Kingdom might come to his
 Assistance, and discover their Affection to his Majesty.
 Notwithstanding which, the vigorous Spirit of the
 Earl of *Mountrose*, had stirred him up to make some
 attempt, whether he had any help or no. The Person
 whom that Earl most hated, and contemned, was
 the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had then the Chief-

Government of *Scotland*; and though he was a Man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation, that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his Estate and Authority, a very great Interest in that Kingdom; yet he had no Martial Qualities, nor the reputation of more Courage, than insolent and imperious Persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.

The Earl of *Mountrose* believed that his getting safely into *Scotland*, was much more difficult than it would be to raise Men enough there to control the Authority of *Argyle*. There was, at that time, at *Oxford*, the Earl of *Antrim*, remarkable for nothing, but for having Married the Dowager of the great Duke of *Buckingham*, within few years after the death of that Favorite. By the possession of Her ample Fortune, he had lived in the Court in great expense and some lustre, until his Riot had contracted so great a debt, that he was necessitated to leave the Kingdom, and to retire to his own Fortune in *Ireland* (which was very fair) together with his Wife; who gave him reputation, being a Lady, besides her own great extraction and Fortune, as Heiress to the House of *Rutland*, and Wife and Mother to the Dukes of *Buckingham*, of a very great wit and Spirit; and made the mean parts of her present Husband (a handsome Man too) well enough received in all places; so that they had lived in *Ireland* in splendor, as they might well do, till that Rebellion drove the Lady again from thence, to find a livelihood out of her own Estate in *England*. And upon the Queen's first coming to *Oxford*, She likewise came thither; where

BOOK VIII. She found great respect from all. The Earl of *Antrim*, who was a Man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his Wife, than he betook himself to the Rebels with an imagination that his Quality and Fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, probably, he never intended to employ to the prejudice of the King, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be looked upon as a greater Man than the Marquis of *Ormond*; which was so uneasy and torturing an Ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The Rebels were glad of His presence, and to have his Name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more upon his Brother, *Alexander Macdonnel*, who was fast to their Party, and in their most secret Counsels.

The Earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his Station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the Protestant Quarters, and from thence into *England*, and so to *Oxford*; where his Wife then was; and made his presence not unacceptable; the King not having then notice of his having ever been among the *Irish* Rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in *Ireland* to serve the King, and to dispose the *Irish* to a Peace, if he should have any countenance from the King; which his Majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the Earl of *Antrim* had his original Extraction in *Scotland*, or the Marquis of *Argyle* His in *Ireland*, must be left to the determination of those

that are skilled in the Genealogy of the Family of the *Macdonnells*; to the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the Earl of *Antrim*, to much of those Lands in the Highlands of *Scotland*, which were possessed by *Argyle*; and the greatest part of his Estate in *Ireland* was in that part of *Ulster* that lies next *Scotland*, and his Dependents near of the same Language, and manner of living with the Highlanders of *Scotland*. The knowledge of this, disposed the Earl of *Mountrose* to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to *Oxford*, and to consult with him, whether it might not be possible to draw a Body of Men out of *Ireland* to be such a foundation for raising Forces in *Scotland*, as might advance the Enterprise he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in *Scotland* had very good Affections for the King; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery, they had long endured under the Tyranny of *Argyle*. The passage over the Sea in those places, between *Scotland* and *Ireland*, is so narrow, that the People often make their Markets in one and the other, in the space of few hours; and the hardiness of both People is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet, or clothing, or the great commodity of Lodging; and were very fit to constitute an Army that was not to depend upon any Supplies of Money, or Arms, or Victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practised in those parts.

The Earl of *Antrim*, who was naturally a great Undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that

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the King should believe him to be a Man of interest and power in *Ireland*, was highly exalted, when he discovered by the Earl of *Mountrose*, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of *Ireland*, to perform a Service for the King, which he never before entertained a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the Earl of *Mountrose*, "that, if the
" King would grant him a Commission, he would
" raise an Army in *Ireland*, and transport it into
" *Scotland*; and would himself be in the head of it;
" by means whereof he believed all the Clan of the
" *Macdonnells* in the Highlands of *Scotland*, might
" be persuaded to follow him." When the Earl of *Mountrose* had formed such a reasonable undertaking, as he believed the Earl of *Antrim* might in truth be able to comply with, he acquainted the Lord *Digby* with it, who was a friend to all difficult designs, and desired him "to propose it to the King, and to let
" his Majesty know, that he was so confident of the
" Earl of *Antrim*'s being able to perform what should
" be necessary (for he would be very well content,
" if he would send over a Body but of two thousand
" Men into *Scotland*, which he well knew he could
" easily do) that he would himself be in the Highlands
" to receive them; and run his fortune with them;
" if his Majesty would give him leave to gather up
" such a Number of his Countrymen about *Oxford*,
" as would be willing to accompany him; with
" whom he would make his way thither; and that,
" if no time were lost in prosecuting this design, he
" did hope that by the time the *Scottish* Army should
" be ready to take the Field, they should receive

“ such an Alarm from their own Country, as should
 “ hinder their advance.”

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Upon this Overture, the King conferred with the two Earls together; and finding the Earl of *Antrim* forward to undertake the raising as many Men as should be desired, if he might have the King's Commission to that purpose; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the Kingdom, Interest enough to do it; and the Earl of *Mountrose* as confidently assuring his Majesty, “ that with two thousand Men Landed in the High-lands, he would quickly raise an Army, with which he could disquiet that Kingdom;” and the design being more probable, than any other that could be proposed to the same purpose, his Majesty resolved to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it countenance; for he had neither Money, nor Arms, nor Ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection, that appeared at the first entrance into it, was, “ that though the Earl of *Antrim* had power in *Ulster*, and among the Roman-Catholics, he was very odious to the Protestants, and obnoxious to the State at *Dublin*, many things being discovered against him of his correspondence with the Rebels, which were not known when he came into *England*.” But that which gave most Umbrage (for no body suspected his conjunction with the Rebels) was his declared “ Malice to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the contempt the Marquis had of him, who would therefore undervalue any Proposition should be made by him, being a Man of so notorious a levity and inconstancy, that he did not use to intend

BOOK " the same thing long. There could be no trusting
 VIII. " him with any Commission independent upon the
 " Marquis of *Ormond*, or allowing him to do any
 " thing in *Ireland* without the Marquis' Privy,
 " and such a limitation would by no means be grate-
 " ful to him. And though the benefit, the King's
 " Friends in *Scotland* would receive by the carrying
 " away any Body of Men out of *Ulster*, would be
 " a great lessening and abatement of the strength of
 " the *Irish* Rebels, who had the Command over those
 " parts, yet if the Earl of *Antrim*, under any Autho-
 " rity from the King, should indiscreetly behave
 " himself (as no Man who loved him best, had any
 " confidence in his discretion) all the reproaches cast
 " upon his Majesty, of his countenancing those
 " Rebels would receive the greatest confirmation
 " imaginable."

The foresight of these difficulties gave life to an Intrigue in the Court, which for some time had not succeeded. *Daniel O Neale* (who was in subtlety and understanding much superior to the whole Nation of the old *Irish*) had long labored to be of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He was very well known to the Court, having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the Winter-Season in the one, and the Summer always in the Army in the other; as good an Education towards advancement in the World, as that Age knew. He had a fair Reputation in both Climates, having a competent Fortune of his own, to support himself without dependance, and a natural Insinuation, and Address, which made him acceptable in the best Company. He was a great observer,

observer, and discerner of Men's Natures and Humors, and was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful. As soon as the Troubles begun in *Scotland*, he had, with the first, the Command of a Troop of Horse; to which he was by all Men held very equal; having had good experience in the most Active Armies of that time, and a Courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable, when his Honor required it, or his particular Interest, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient.

In the second Troubles in *Scotland*, he had a greater Command, and some part in most of the Intrigues of the Court, and was in great confidence with those who most designed the destruction of the Earl of *Strafford*; against whom he had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his Nation: yet when the Parliament grew too imperious, he entered very frankly into those new designs, which were contrived at Court; with less circumspection than both the Season and the weight of the Affair required. And in this Combination, in which Men were most concerned for themselves, and to receive good recompence for the Adventures they made, he had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the Queen to hope to be made Groom of the Bed-Chamber, when a vacancy should happen. When the Civil War begun, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the Parliament upon a Charge of High-Treason, chose rather to be Lieutenant-Colonel of

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Horse to Prince *Rupert*, than the Name of a greater Officer, which he might well have pretended to; presuming that, by his dexterity, he should have such an Interest in that young Prince, as might make his relation to him Superior to those who had greater Titles. He had the misfortune, at the first coming of the Prince, to have credit with him to make some impressions, and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit likewise to build upon those Foundations, which he hoped to have had the sole Authority to have supervised, and directed. When he saw some of his Fraternity promoted to Offices and Honors, who had not ventured, or suffered more than He (for if he had not made his escape out of the Tower very dexterously, in a Lady's dress, he had been in manifest danger of his Life) and whose pretences were not better founded, than upon the promises made at the same time, when he had promised himself to be of the Bed - Chamber, he now pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the Queen had been very solicitous with the King on his behalf, being conscious to herself, that he had been encouraged by Her to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the Earl of *Strafford*, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his Friends, or by the Queen herself; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture. This, *O'Neill* took very heavily; and the more, because his condition in the Army was less

pleasant to him, by Prince *Rupert's* withdrawing his Graces from him.

The design of the Earls of *Mountrose* and *Antrim*, which was yet wholly managed with the King by the Lord *Digby*, who was likewise of intimate Friendship with *O Neile*, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was generally known that *O Neile*, whether by Alliance, or Friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl of *Antrim* than any Man; and that by the ascendant he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his Nature, in which he was Superior to most Men, he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the Marquis of *Ormond* loved *O Neile* very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the Lord *Digby* told the King, “ that he had
“ thought of an expedient, which he did believe
“ might relieve him in the perplexities he sustained
“ concerning the Conduct of the Earl of *Antrim* ;”
and then proposed, “ the sending *O Neile* with
“ him; who should first dissuade him from affecting
“ to have any Commission Himself to Act in *Ireland*;
“ and then incline him to depend upon the Assistance
“ and Authority of the Marquis of *Ormond*; who
“ should be required by the King to contribute all he
“ could, for the making those Levies of Men, and
“ for impressing of Ships, and other Vessels for their
“ Transportation into the Highlands; and then, that
“ he should go over himself with the Earl, and stay
“ with him during his abode in *Dublin*; by which he
“ might begin, and preserve a good Intelligence
“ between Him and the Marquis of *Ormond*; and

B O O K “ dispose the Marquis of *Ormond* to gratify him, in all
 VIII. “ things that might concern so important a Service ;
 “ which, besides the Letters he should carry with
 “ him from the King , his own credit with the Mar-
 “ quis and his singular Address , would easily bring
 “ to pass.”

This Proposition was very agreeable to the King, who knew *O Neile* was equal to this business ; and the Lord *Digby* did not in the least insinuate any design for *O Neile*’s advantage in the Service, which would have diverted the Negotiation : thereupon his Majesty himself spoke to him of the whole design, the Lord *Digby* desiring he would do so, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not sure of his Majesty’s Approbation. He received it as a thing he had never thought of ; and when the King asked him, “ whether he thought “ the Earl had interest enough in those parts of “ *Ireland*, to Levy and Transport a Body of Men “ into the Highlands ?” he Answered readily, “ that “ he knew well, that there were so many there, where “ the Earl’s Estate lay, who depended absolutely “ upon him that there would be Men enough ready “ to go thither, or do what he required them : and “ that the Men were hardy and stout for any Service ; “ but the drawing a Body of them together, and “ Transporting them, would require, he doubted, “ more power than the Earl himself had, or could be “ Master of. He said, there were two Objections in “ view, and a third, that he was not willing, for “ many reasons, to make. The first was, that nothing “ of that Nature could be done without the Autho- “ rity and Power of the Marquis of *Ormond*, which,

“ no doubt, would be applied to any purpose his
 “ Majesty should direct; yet that the Earl of *Antrim*
 “ had behaved himself so indiscreetly towards the
 “ Marquis, and so unhandsomely disobliged him,
 “ that it could not but be the severest Command
 “ his Majesty could lay upon the Marquis, to enter
 “ into any kind of conjunction, or conversation
 “ with that Earl. The second was, that, though
 “ the Earl’s Interest could make as many Men as he
 “ desired, to enter into any Action or Engagement
 “ he would prescribe, he much doubted the *Irish*
 “ Commander in Chief, who had the Military
 “ power of those parts, would hardly permit a Body
 “ of those Men, which they reckoned their best
 “ Soldiers, to be Transported; and thereby their
 “ own strength to be lessened;” which was an ob-
 jection of Weight; and not mentioned before to the
 King, nor considered by him. He said, “ he was
 “ unwilling to make another objection, which re-
 “ flected upon a Person so dear to him, -and for
 “ whom he would at any time lay down his Life;
 “ which was, that he much feared the Earl of *Antrim*
 “ had not steadiness of mind enough to go through
 “ with such an Undertaking, which otherwise would
 “ be as easy as honorable.”

The King, well satisfied with the Discourse he
 made, told him, “ that he was not Himself without
 “ the same apprehensions he had, and knew but one
 “ way to secure the business, if he would undertake
 “ the Journey with him, by which all his fears would
 “ be composed; His Counsel would govern the
 “ Earl in all things, and his credit with the Marquis

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“ of *Ormond*, which should be improved by his Majesty’s recommendation, would prevent any prejudice in him towards the Earl.” The King added, “ that the Service itself was of so vast importance, that it might preserve his Crown, and therefore his conducting it, without which he saw little hope of Success, would be a matter of great merit, and could not be Unrewarded.” O *Neile* seemed wonderfully surpris’d with the Proposition, and in some disorder (which he could handsomely put on when he would) said, “ that he would never disobey any Command his Majesty would positively lay upon him; but that he should look upon it as the greatest misfortune that could befall him, to receive such a Command, as would deprive him of attending upon his Majesty in the next Campaign, where he was sure there must be a Battle; from which he had rather lose his life than be absent.” Then he said, “ though the Earl of *Antrim* was his Kinsman, and his Friend, and one who, he thought, loved him better than he did any other Man, yet he was the last Man in *England* with whom he would be willing to join in any Enterprize;” mentioning his Pride, and Levity, and Weakness, and many Infirmities, which made it appear more requisite, that a Wiser Man should have the application of his Interest; which he knew must be himself. The King renewed his desire to him, to undertake the Service, as the greatest he could perform for him; and commanded him to confer with the Lord *Digby*, who should inform him of all particulars, and should find the best way to make the Earl of *Antrim* to communicate the Affair to him,

and to wish his Assistance; which was easily brought to pass; nor was there any thing relating to it that the Lord *Digby* had not before imparted to him; though the King suspected it not.

The Lord *Digby* had now brought the business to the state he wished; and, within two or three days, told the King how glad the Earl of *Antrim* was, that “ he had leave to communicate the matter with O
“ *Neile*; and desired nothing more than that his Majesty would command him to go over with him;
“ which was an excellent point gained, wherein he
“ had himself chosen the Person, who was only fit to
“ be with him, whereas he might have been jealous,
“ if he had been first recommended to him. The
“ Earl had, upon the first mention of him, taken
“ Notice of the Difficulty he might find to draw his
“ Men out of the *Irish* Quarters, by the opposition
“ of those who Commanded there in chief; but, he
“ said, if the King would make *O Neile* go with him,
“ all that difficulty would be removed; for *Owen O*
“ *Neile* who was Uncle to *Daniel*, was the General
“ of all the *Irish* in *Ulster*, and incomparably the best
“ Soldier, and the Wisest Man that was among the
“ *Irish* Rebels, having long served the King of *Spain*
“ in *Flanders* in very eminent Command; and the
“ Earl said, that he was sure *Daniel* had that credit
“ with his Uncle, that he would not refuse at his
“ request, to connive at what was necessary for the
“ Earl to do, which was all he desired.

The Lord *Digby* left not this circumstance, which he pretended never to have thought of before, unobserved, to advance the Counsel he had given for

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employing *O Neile* whom he took occasion then to Magnify again; and told the King, "that he had
 " already convinced the Earl of *Antrim*, of the folly
 " of desiring any other Commission, than what the
 " Marquis of *Ormond* should find necessary to give
 " him; and how impossible it was for him to have
 " any success in that design, without the cheerful
 " concurrence, and friendship of the Marquis:
 " which the Earl was now brought to confess, and
 " solemnly promised to do all he should be advised,
 " to compass it." But after all this, he lamented "*O*
 " *Neile's* obstinate aversion to undertake the Journey,
 " for many reasons; who, he said, had engaged him,
 " under all the obligations of the Friendship that
 " was between them, to prevail with his Majesty,
 " that he might not be absent from his charge in the
 " Army, in a Season when there must be so much
 " Action, and when his Majesty's Person, whom
 " he so dearly loved, must be in so great danger;
 " and that he had told him freely, that he could not
 " honestly move his Majesty to that purpose, whom
 " he knew to be so possessed of the necessity of his
 " going into *Ireland* with the Earl, that he should
 " despair of the whole Enterprize, which was the
 " most hopeful he had in his view, if he did not
 " cheerfully submit to act his part towards it: but
 " that notwithstanding all he had said, by which he
 " had shut out all farther importunity towards him-
 " self, his Majesty must expect to be very much
 " straggled with; and that *O Neile* would lay him-
 " self at his feet, and get all his Friends to join with
 " him in a supplication for his Majesty's excuse;
 " and that there was no more to be done, but that

" his Majesty, with some warmth, should Command
 " him to desist from farther importunity, and to
 " comply with what he should expect from him;
 " which he said, he knew would silence all farther
 " opposition : for that *O Neile* had that entire resign-
 " nation to his Majesty's pleasure, that he would
 " rather die than offend him." Upon which, and
 to cut off all farther Mediation, and Interposition,
 the King presently sent for him, and graciously con-
 jured him, with as much passion as he could show,
 " to give over all thoughts of excuse, and to pro-
 " vide for his Journey within three or four days.

All things being thus disposed, and the King ex-
 pecting every day that the Earl and *O Neile* would
 take their leaves, the Lord *Digby* came to him, and
 said, " Mr. *O Neile*, had an humble Suit to his Ma-
 " jesty at parting ; which to him did not seem un-
 " reasonable, and therefore he hoped his Majesty
 " would raise the Spirits of the poor Man, since he
 " did believe in his Conscience, that he desired it
 " more for the advancement of his Majesty's Service,
 " than to satisfy his own Ambition." He put him in
 mind of the " long pretence he had to be Groom of
 " his Bed-Chamber, for the which he could not chuse
 " but say, that he had the Queen's promise, at the
 " same time when *Piercy*, and *Wilmot* had the like
 " for their Honors, which they had since received
 " the accomplishment of : That his Majesty had
 " not yet rejected the Suit, but only deferred the
 " granting it ; not without giving him leave in due
 " time to hope it : That there could not be so proper
 " a Season as this, for his Majesty to confer this
 " Grace : That Mr. *O Neile* was without a Rival,

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“ and, in the Eyes of all Men equal to his pretence ;
 “ and so no Man could be offended at the Success :
 “ That he was now upon an employment of great
 “ Trust, chosen by his Majesty as the only Person
 “ who could bring an Enterprize of that vast ex-
 “ pectation to a good end, by his Conduct and
 “ Dexterity : That it must be a Journey of great
 “ expence, besides the hazard of it ; yet he asked no
 “ Money, because he knew there was none to be
 “ had ; he begged only, that he might depart with
 “ such a Character, and Testimony of his Majesty’s
 “ favor and good opinion, that he might be thereby
 “ the better qualified to perform the trust that was
 “ reposed in him : That the conferring this Honor
 “ upon him, at this time, would increase the Credit
 “ he had with the Earl of *Antrim*, at least confirm his
 “ inconstant Nature, in an absolute confidence in
 “ him : It would make him more considerable to the
 “ Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Council there, with
 “ whom he might have occasion often to confer
 “ about his Majesty’s Service ; but above all, it
 “ would give him that Authority over his Country-
 “ men, and would be such an obligation upon the
 “ whole *Irish* Nation (there having never yet been
 “ any *Irish* - man admitted to a place so near the
 “ Person of the King) that it might produce unex-
 “ pected effects, and could not fail of disposing *Owen*
 “ *O Neile*, the General, to hearken to any thing his
 “ Nephew should ask of him.”

How much reason soever this discourse carried with it, with all the insinuations a very powerful Speaker could add to it in the delivery, the Lord *Digby* found an aversion, and weariness in the King

all the time he was speaking; and therefore, as his last effort, and with a Countenance as if he thought his Majesty much in the wrong, he concluded, "that he doubted his Majesty would too late repent his aversion in this particular; and that Men ought not to be sent upon such Errands, with the sharp sense of any disobligation: That if his Majesty pleased, he might settle this Affair in such a manner as *O Neile* might go away very well pleased, and his Majesty enjoy the greatest part of his resolution: That *O Neile* should not be yet in so near an attendance about his Person: That the Employment was full of hazard, and would require a great expence of time: That he was a Man of that Nature, as would not leave his business half done, and would be ashamed to see his Majesty's face, before there were some very considerable effect of his Activity and Industry; and considering what was to be done in *Ireland*, and the posture of Affairs in *England*, it might be a very long time before *O Neile* might find himself again in the King's presence, to enter upon his Office in the Bed-Chamber," and therefore proposed, "that the hour he was to leave *Oxford*, he might be sworn Groom of the Bed Chamber; by which he should depart only with a title the effect whereof he should not be possessed of before he had very well deserved it, and returned again to his Majesty's presence; which, possibly, might require more time than the other had to live." This last prevailed more than all the rest, and the imagination that the other might be well satisfied with a place he should never enjoy, made his Majesty consent, that,

B O O K in the last Article of time, he should be sworn before
VIII. his departure; with which the other was well satisfied, making little doubt but that he should be able to despatch that part of the business which was incumbent on him, in so short a time, as he might return to his attendance in the Bed Chamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the King expected; which fell out accordingly, for he was again with his Majesty in the Summer following, which was that of forty-four.

Whilst this Intrigue was carrying on for Mr. *O Neile* there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the behalf of the Earl of *Antrim*; for whose Person the King had as little regard or kindness, as for any Man of his rank. The Duchess of *Buckingham*, his Wife, was now in *Oxford*, whom the King always heard with favor; his Majesty retaining a most gracious memory of her former Husband, whom He thought, she had forgotten too soon. This Lady, being of a great Wit and Spirit, when she found that the King now thought her Husband good for somewhat, which he had never before done, was resolved he should carry with him some testimony of the King's esteem; which, she thought, would be at least some justification of the affection she had manifested for him. She told the King, "that her Husband
 " was so eclipsed in *Ireland*, by the no-countenance
 " his Majesty had ever showed towards him, and by
 " his preferring some who were his equals, to degrees
 " and trusts above him, and by raising others, who
 " were in all respects much inferior to him, to the
 " same Title with him, and to Authority above
 " him, that she believed he had not Credit and In-
 " terest enough to do the Service he desired to do :

“ That, in that Country, the Lords and Greatest Men
“ had Reputation over their Tenants and Vassals, as
“ they were known to have Grace from the King;
“ and when they were known to be without that,
“ they had no more power than to exact their own
“ just Services.” She lamented “ the misfortune of
“ her Husband, which she had the more reason to
“ do, because it proceeded from Her; and that,
“ whereas he had reason to have expected, that, by
“ his Marriage with her, he might have been advanced
“ in the Court, and in his Majesty’s favor, he
“ had found so little benefit from thence, that he
“ might well believe, as She did, that he suffered
“ for it: Otherwise, it would not have been possible
“ for a Person of the Earl of *Antrim*’s Estate, and
“ Interest, and so well qualified, as she had reason
“ to believe him to be in all respects, after the expense
“ of so much Money in attendance upon the
“ Court, to be without any mark or evidence of his
“ Majesty’s favor; and to return now again in the
“ same forlorn Condition into *Ireland*, would but
“ give his Enemies more encouragement to insult
“ over him, and to cross any designs he had to advance
“ his Majesty’s Service. In Conclusion she
“ desired, that the King would make her Husband a
“ Marquis;” without which, she did as good as
declare, that he should not undertake that Employment.
Though his Majesty was neither pleased with the matter,
nor the manner, he did not discern so great an inconvenience
in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit
he expected with reference to *Scotland*; which the Earl of
Mountrose, every day, with great earnestness, put him in mind of.

B O O K Thereupon, he gave Order for a Warrant to make
VIII. the Earl of *Antrim* a Marquis.

The Earl of
 Mountrose
 goes privately
 into Scotland,
 and raises an
 Army: and
 has great
 success.

So He and *O Neile*, being well pleased, begun their Journey for *Ireland*; and at the same time the Earl of *Mountrose* took his leave of the King with several Gentlemen, as if they meant to make their way together into *Scotland*. But the Earl of *Mountrose*, after he had continued his Journey two or three days in that Equipage, which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the Enemies Troops together for the Guard of all Passes to meet with him was found missing one Morning by his Company; who, after some stay and inquiry, returned back to *Oxford*, whilst that Noble Person, with incredible Address and Fatigue, had not only quitted his Company, and his Servants, but his House also, and found a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the Enemies Quarters, till he came to the very Borders; from whence, by the assistance of Friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet without undertaking any Action, until the Marquis of *Antrim*, by the Countenance and Assistance of the Marquis of *Ormond*, did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over *Alexander Macdonnel*, a stout and an active Officer (whom they called by an *Irish* appellation *Calkito*) with a Regiment of fifteen hundred Soldiers; who Landed in the Highlands in *Scotland*, at, or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the Earl of *Mountrose* was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly published his Commission of being General for the King over all that Kingdom. With this handful of Men brought together

with those circumstances remembered, he brought in so many of his own Country-men to join with him, as were strong enough to Arm themselves at the Charge of their Enemies; whom they first Defeated; and every day increased in power, till he Fought and prevailed in so many several Battles, that he made himself, upon the matter, master of the Kingdom; and did all those stupendous Acts, which deservedly are the Subject of a History by itself, excellently written in Latin by a Learned Prelate of that Nation. And this preamble to that History was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages known to few; in which the Artifices of Court were very notable, and as mysterious as the Motions in that Sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of our History, to mention that Noble Lord again, and his Zeal for the Crown, before he came to his sad Catastrophe.

The King now found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the Parliament, and the factions in the City, there would be an Army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it; and was therefore the more impatient that the Prince should leave *Oxford*, and begin his Journey to *Bristol*; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. And since the King did at that time, within himself (for publicly he was contented that it should be otherwise believed) resolve that the Prince should only keep his Court in the West, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any Martial Action, or being so much as present in any Army, it had been very happy, and, to dis-

B O O K cerning Men, seemed then a thing desirable, if his
 VIII. Majesty had removed his Court into the West too, either to *Bristol*, or, which it may be had been better, to *Exeter*. For since *Reading* and *Abingdon* were both possessed by the Parliament, and thereby *Oxford* become the head-Quarter, it was not so fit that the Court should remain there; which by the multitude of Ladies, and Persons of Quality, who resided there, would not probably endure such an Attack of the Enemy, as the Situation of the place, and the good Fortifications which inclosed it, might very well bear. Nor would the Enemy have sat down before it, till they had done their business in all other places, if they had not presumed, that the Inhabitants within, would not be willing to submit to any notable distress. If, at this time, a good Garrison had only been left there, and all the Court, and Persons of Quality, removed into the West with the Prince, it would probably have been a means speedily to have reduced to the King's Obedience those small Garrisons, which stood out; and the King himself might, by the Spring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of Men to his Army, and might likewise have made *Oxford* the place of Rendezvous, at the time when it should be fit for him to take the Field. But the truth is, not only the Ladies, who were very powerful in such consultations of State, but very few of the rest, of what Degree, or Quality soever, who had excellent Accommodations in the Colleges, which they could not have found any where else, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content to have changed their Quarters. Besides, the

the King had that Royal Affection for the University, that he thought it well deserved the honor of his own Presence; and always resolved, that it should be never so exposed to the extremity of War, as to fall into those barbarous hands, without making all necessary conditions for the preservation of so Venerable a place from Rapine, Sacrilege, and destruction.

Thus that consideration of removing the Court from thence, was only secretly entered upon, and but as air, without making it the subject of any Public Debate: and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole Council which was assigned to attend the Prince, had been obliged to have performed that Service. But both the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton, Men of great Reputation and Authority, excused themselves to the King, for not submitting to that his Command, and for desiring to continue still about his Person; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his Majesty; to whom he had adhered with that signal Fidelity and Affection, when so many had deserted him; the other being newly Married, and engaged in a Family, which he could not, without great inconveniences, have left behind him, nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuses, having named them rather to obviate some jealoesies, which were like to be entertained upon the first discourse of sending the Prince into the West, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the Service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were

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Sir John Ho-
tham and
his Son tried
at a Court of
Wa : Both
are condem-
ned, and
beheaded.

like enough to fall out, they who were still obliged to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general submission, and obedience, which ought to be paid to the Commands of the Prince; of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

There was an Act of Divine Justice about this time executed by those at *Westminster*, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the Affairs of this year; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engaged; some of whom afterwards did undergo the same fate. There hath been often mention before of Sir *John Hotham*, who shut the Gates of *Hull* against the King, and refused to give him entrance into that Town, when he came thither attended only by his own Servants, before the beginning of the War; and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the War. It was the more wonderful, that a Person of a full and ample Fortune, who was not disturbed by any Fancies in Religion, had unquestioned duty to the Crown, and reverence for the Government both of Church and State, should so foolishly expose Himself, and his Family, of great Antiquity, to comply with the humors of those Men whose Persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But, as his particular Animosity against the Earl of *Strafford*, first engaged him in that Company, so his Vanity and Ambition, and the Concessions the King had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur farther with them, than his own judgment disposed him to. He had taken upon him the Government of *Hull*, without any apprehension, or imagination, that it would ever make

him necessary to Rebellion ; but believed, that, when the King and Parliament should be reconciled, the eminence of that Charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honors, which that Party resolved to divide among themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately Embarked than he never intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disentangle himself, and to wind himself out of the Labyrinth he was in. His Comportment towards the Lord *Digby*, and *Ashburnham*, and his Inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his Son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his Father, was that alone that preserved him longer in the Government. Besides that they had so constituted the Garrison, that they knew it could never be in the Father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discovered some alteration in the Son's behaviour, and that the Pride and Stubbornness of his Nature would not suffer him to submit to the Command of the Lord *Fairfax*, and that superiority over both his Father and Him, with which the Parliament had invested that Lord, and had some inkling of secret Messages between the Marquis of *New-Castle*, and young *Hotham*, they caused both Father and Son to be suddenly seized upon, and sent up Prisoners to the Parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of High-Treason.

Though there was Evidence enough against them, yet they had so many Friends in both Houses of Par-

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liament, and some of that Interest in the Army, that they were preserved from farther prosecution, and remained long Prisoners in the Tower without being brought to any Trial; so that they believed their Punishment to be at the highest. But when that Party prevailed that resolved to new-Model the Army, and to make as many examples of their rigor and severity, as might terrify all Men from falling from them, they called importunately, that the two *Hothams* might be tried at a Court of War, for their Treachery and Treason; and they who had hitherto preserved them, had now lost their Interest; so that they were both brought to their Trial, some little time before the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and both condemned to lose their Heads. The principal Charge against the Father was, his suffering the Lord *Digby* to escape; and a Letter was produced, by the Treachery of a Servant, against the Son, which he had sent to the Marquis of *New-Castle*. The vile artifices that were used both before and after their Trial, were so barbarous, and inhuman, as have been rarely practised among Christians.

The Father was first condemned to suffer upon a day appointed, and the Son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: The Night before, or the very Morning, that Sir *John Hotham* was to die, a Reprieve was sent from the House of Peers to suspend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the Lords; and to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an Order "to all Mayors, " Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Ministers of Justice, " that no Reprieve should be granted, or allowed

“ for any Person against whom the sentence of Death
 “ was pronounced, except the same had passed, and
 “ had the consent of both Houses of Parliament; and
 “ that if it passed only by the House of Peers, it
 “ should be looked upon as invalid and void, and
 “ execution should not be thereupon forborne, or
 “ suspended.” By this accident the Son was brought
 to his Execution before his Father: upon the day on
 which he was sentenced to suffer; who died with
 Courage, and reproaching “ the ingratitude of the
 “ Parliament, and their continuance of the War;”
 concluded, “ that, as to them, he was very innocent,
 “ and had never been guilty of Treason.” The
 Father was brought to the Scaffold the next day: For
 the House of Commons, to show their Prerogative
 over the Lords, sent an Order to the Lieutenant of
 the Tower, that he should cause him to be Executed
 that very day, which was two days before the Re-
 prieve granted by the House of Peers was expired.
 Whether he had yet some promise from *Peters*, that
 he should only be showed to the People, and so re-
 turned safe again to the Tower, which was then
 generally reported, and believed, or whether he
 was broken with despair (which is more probable)
 when he saw that his Enemies prevailed so far, that
 he could not be permitted to live those two days
 which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that
 the poor Man appeared so dispirited, that he spoke
 but few words after he came upon the Scaffold, and
 suffered his ungodly Confessor *Peters*, to tell the
 People “ that he had revealed himself to him, and
 “ confessed his Offences against the Parliament;” and

B O O K so he committed his Head to the block. This was
VIII. the worful Tragedy of these two unhappy Gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual Nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all Men who knew their Natures, Humors, and Transactions.

Since the last Office of a General, with reference to the King's Quarters, which the Earl of *Essex* performed before he found it necessary to surrender his Commission to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the Nature of the thing itself, and the Circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a Letter signed by the Earl of *Essex*, and sent by a Trumpet to Prince *Rupert*, but penned by a Committee of Parliament, and perused by both Houses before it was signed by their General; who used, in all despatches made by Himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent Letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The Parliament had, some Months before, made an Ordinance against giving Quarter to any of the *Irish* Nation which should be taken Prisoners, either at Sea or Land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Officers under him at Sea, had as often as he met with any *Irish* Frigates, or such Freebooters as sailed under their Commission, taken all the Sea-Men who became Prisoners to them of that Nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them over board into the Sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were *Irish*. In this cruel manner very many poor Men perished

daily; of which, when it was generally known, the King said nothing, because none of those Persons were in his Majesty's Service; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his Majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concerned on the behalf, and in favor of the Rebels of *Ireland*.

But there had been lately, in some Service at Land, some Prisoners taken of the King's Troops, and upon pretence that they were *Irish*-men, as many as they thought to be of that Nation, were all hanged, to the Number of ten or twelve. Whereupon, Prince *Rupert*, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal Number of the Parliament-Soldiers, caused Them likewise to be hanged upon the next Tree; which the Parliament declared to be an Act of great injustice, and cruelty; and appointed the Earl of *Essex* to expostulate it with Prince *Rupert* very rudely, in the Letter they had caused to be penned for him, and to send a Copy of their Ordinance, enclosed in the said Letter, with expressions full of reproach, for his "presumption in making an Ordinance of Their's, the Argument to justify an Action of so much inhumanity;" which was the first knowledge the King had of any such Declaration, with reference to the War in *England*; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince *Rupert* returned such an Answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation, and sent it to the Earl of *Essex*; who, the day before he received it, had given up his Commission; but sent it immediately to the two Houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some

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of them saying, "that they wondered it was so long
"on the way, for that certainly it had been prepa-
"red at *Uxbridge*."

The Prince
of Wales
sent by the
King to re-
side at *Brif-*
tol.

It was upon the fourth of *March*, that the Prince parted from the King his Father; and, about a Week after, came to *Bristol*; where he was now to act a part by Himself, as the Affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the King and the Prince might not be exposed at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength, than was necessary to the security of his own Person; or that indeed he should move farther Westward than that City. His Highness had not been there above two or three days, when Letters were intercepted, that discovered a design of *Waller*, who had passed by the Lord *Goring*, and put relief into *Taunton*, and hoped to have surprized *Bristol* in his return; whereupon two or three of his Correspondents fled out of that City, and the rest were so dispirited with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was proposed. So the Lord *Hopton* put all things into so good a Posture, that there was no farther cause to apprehend *Waller*; and he himself was required to return to *London*, to deliver up his Commission upon the *Self-denying Ordinance*.

Thus ended the year 1644, which shall conclude this Book.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κηρυξ ἐς αἰῶ. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. VIII.

BASIL:

Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.

M D C C X C V I I I.



THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K IX.

If. I. 15.

And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; Yea, when you make many Prayers, I will not hear. Your hands are full of blood.

If. xxviii. 15.

For we have made lies our refuge, and under falshood have we hid ourselves.

WE are now entering upon a time, the representation and description whereof, must needs be the most unpleasant, and ungrateful to the Reader, in respect of the Subject matter of it; which will consist of no less weakness and folly, on the one side, than of malice and wickedness, on the other; and the most unagreeable and difficult to the Writer, in regard, that he shall, probably, please very few who acted then upon the Stage of business, but must give very severe Characters of the Persons, and severely censure the Actions of many, who wished very well,

B O O K IX.
Introduction to the Ninth Book and the year 1645.

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B O O K and had not the least thought of disloyalty or infidelity, as well as of those who, with the most deliberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the Crown: A time, in which the whole Stock of Affection, Loyalty, and Courage, which at first alone engaged Men in the Quarrel, seemed to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and dejection of Spirit, contrary to the Natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the Nation: A time, in which they who pretended most public-heartedness, and did really wish the King all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the public Peace, and the security of their Master to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition, and animosities against each other, without the least design of Treachery, or damage towards his Majesty: A time, in which want of discretion, and mere folly, produced as much mischief, as the most barefaced Villany could have done; in which the King suffered as much, by the irresolution, and unsteadiness of his own Counsels, and by the ill humor, and faction of his Counsellors, by their not foreseeing what was evident to most other Men, and by their jealousies of what was not like to fall out; sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and most of all, not executing Vigorously what was deliberated and resolved, as by the indefatigable industry, and the irresistible power and strength of his Enemies.

All these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and exposed to the naked View, in the Rela-

tion of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will swerve from that precise Rule of ingenuity, and integrity. we profess to observe; and thereby leave the Reader more perplexed, to see the most prodigious accidents fall out, without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things. and persuade him to believe, that a universal corruption of the hearts of the whole Nation had brought forth these lamentable effects; whereas they proceeded only from the folly and the frowardness, from the weakness and the wilfulness, the pride and the passion of particular Persons, whose Memories ought to be charged with their own evil Actions, rather than that the Infamy of them should be laid on the Age wherein they lived; which did produce as many Men eminent for their loyalty and uncorrupted fidelity to the Crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with the clearness that is necessary to Subject them to Common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the King himself, as shall seem to call both his Wisdom, and his Steadiness into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent, the Mischiefs which threatened him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify me from prosecuting this part of the Work, with such a freedom and openness, as must call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never sufficiently understood; and rather persuade me to satisfy myself, with a bare relation of what was

B O O K done, and with the known event of that miserable
IX. year (which, in truth, produced all that followed in the succeeding years) without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, and so let them seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the instances of Divine displeasure, than show how they proceed from the weakness and inadvertency of Men, not totally abandoned by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite, and inventions.

But I am too far embarked in this Sea already, and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity with reference to Things, and Persons, and in the examinations of the grounds, and oversights of Counsels, to be now frightened with the prospect of those Materials, which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know myself to be very free from any of those Passions which naturally transport Men with prejudice towards the Persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose Actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a Man who acted the worst part, in this ensuing year, with whom I had ever the least difference, or Personal unkindness, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults, and oversights in the Counsels of this year, with whom I had great Friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy oversights; nor did flatter them when they were past, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things

myself which I mention, and therefore an Answer for the Truth of them; and other most important particulars, which were transacted in places very distant from me, were transmitted to me, by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the Enemy, out of his own Memorials, and Journals. And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee, that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year, would reflect upon some want of resolution in Himself, as well as upon the gross errors, and oversights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him. Wherefore as I first undertook this difficult work with His approbation, and by His encouragement, and for His vindication, so I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may see (at least if there be ever a fit season for such a Communication; which is not like to be in this present Age) how difficult it was for a Prince, so unworthily reduced to those straits his Majesty was in, to find Ministers, and Instruments, equal to the great Work that was to Be done; and how unlikely it was for him to have better success under their conduct whom it was then very proper for him to trust with it; and then, without my being over-solicitous to absolve him from those mistakes, and weaknesses, to which he was in truth sometimes liable, he will be found not only a Prince of admirable Virtue, and Piety, but of great parts of Knowledge and Judgment; and that the most signal of his Misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modesty of his Nature, which kept him from trusting

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himself enough, and made him believe, that others discerned better, who were much inferior to him in those faculties; and so to depart often from his own reason, to follow the opinions of more unskillful Men, whose affections he believed to be unquestionable to his Service. And so we proceed in our relation of matter of *Fact*.

What expectation soever there was, that the *Self-denying Ordinance*, after it had, upon so long deliberation, passed the House of Commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the Peers; whereby the Earl of *Essex* would still have remained General; it did not take up so long Debate there. The Marquis of *Argyle* was now come from *Scotland*, and sat with the Commissioners of that Kingdom, over whom he had a great ascendant. He was, in matters of Religion, and in relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; but in matter of State, and with reference to the War, perfectly Independent. He abhorred all thoughts of Peace, and that the King should ever more have the Government, towards whose Person, notwithstanding the infinite obligations he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast Friendship with Sir *Harry Vane* during his late being in *Scotland*; and they both liked each other's Principles in Government. From the time of His coming to the Town, the *Scottish* Commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the Ordinance, or the new modelling the Army: so that after it came to the House of Peers, though thereby the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earl of *Denbigh* (whose power and authority, that is,

the power, credit, and authority, of the three first named, had absolutely governed and swayed that House from the beginning) were to be dispossessed of their Commands, and no Peer of *England* capable of any employment either Martial, or Civil; yet the Ordinance found little Opposition, and the old Argument, "that the House of Commons thought it necessary, and that it would be of mischievous Consequence to dissent from the House of Commons," so far prevailed, that it passed the House of Peers likewise; and there remained nothing to be done, but the Earl of *Essex's* Surrender of his Commission into the hands of the Parliament, from whom he had received it; which was thought necessary to be done with the same formality in which he had been invested with it. *Fairfax* was now named, and declared General, though the Earl of *Essex* made not haste to surrender his Commission; so that some Men imagined, that he would yet have contested it: but he was not for such enterprises, and did really believe that the Parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advised, in all the circumstances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both Houses in the Painted-Chamber, he should deliver his Commission; which he did. And because he had no very plausible faculty in expressing himself, he chose to do it in Writing; which he delivered to them; wherein he declared, "with what Affection
" and Fidelity he had served them, and as he had often
" ventured his Life for them, so he would willingly
" have lost it in their Service; and since they believed, that what they had more to do would be

B O O K
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The Self denying Ordinance passes in the House of Lords.

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“ better performed by another Man, he submitted to
“ their judgment, and restored their Commission to
“ them; hoping they would find an able Servant:”
concluding with some expressions which made it
manifest that he did not think he had been well used,
or that they would be the better for the change: and
so left them, and returned to his own House; whither
both Houses, the next day, went to attend him,
and to return their thanks for the great Service he
had done the Kingdom; which they acknowledged
with all the Encomiums, and flattering Attributes
they could devise.

The Earl of
Essex resigns
his Commis-
sion;


And Divers
other Officers.

By this *Self-denying Ordinance*, together with the
Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Manchester*, Sir *William*
Waller, the Earl of *Denbigh*, Major General *Massy*,
lost their Commands; as *Cromwell* should likewise
have done. But as soon as the Ordinance was passed,
and before the Resignation of the Earl of *Essex*, the
Party that steered. had caused him to be sent with
a Body of Horse into the West, to relieve *Taunton*,
that he might be absent at the time when the other
Officers delivered their Commissions; which was
quickly observed; and thereupon Orders were given,
to require his present Attendance in Parliament,
and that their new General should send some other
Officer to attend that Service; which was pretended
to be done; and the very day named, by which,
it was averred that he would be in the House. A ren-
dezvous was then appointed, for their new General
to take a View of their Troops, that he might appoint
Officers to succeed those who had left their Com-
mands by Virtue of the Ordinance; and likewise in

Their places who gave up their Commands, and refused to serve in the new Model, who were a great number of their best Commanders. From this Rendezvous, the General sent to desire the Parliament, "that they would give Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* leave to stay with him for some few days, for his better information, without which, he should not be able to perform what they expected from him." The request seeming so reasonable, and being for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another Letter, he desired with very much earnestness, "that they would allow *Cromwell* to serve for that Campaign." Thus they compassed their whole design, in being rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping *Cromwell* in Command; who, in the Name of *Fairfax*, Modelled the Army, and placed such Officers as were well known to him, and to no body else; and absolutely governed the Whole Martial Affairs; as was quickly known to all Men; many particulars whereof will be mentioned at large hereafter.

Cromwell only finds means to keep his Commission, and New-models the Army under *Fairfax*.

Though the time spent in passing the *Self-denying Ordinance*, and afterwards in new-modelling their Army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the Enemy was to make, before they could take the Field, whereby the King had more breathing-time than he had reason to expect; yet all the hopes he had of Recruits against that Season, depended upon the Activity of those to whose Care the providing those Recruits was committed: so that there will be little Occasion to mention any thing that was

B O O K done at *Oxford*, till the Season of the year obliged
IX. his Majesty to leave that place, and to march with his Army into the Field. Of all the Action that was till that time, the West was the Scene; where the Prince, as soon as he came to *Bristol*, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the Prince's Journey into the West, besides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by His presence, direction, and authority, the many Factions and Animosities between particular Persons of Quality, and Interest in those Parts, equal in their affections to the King's Service (yet they miserably invested and distracted it) might be composed, and reconciled; and that the endeavours of all Men who wished well, might be united in the advancing and carrying on that public Service, in which all their joint happiness and security was concerned. This Province, besides the Prince's immediate countenance, and interposition, required great diligence and dexterity in those about him, who were trusted in those Affairs. But his Highness found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a Mischief much more difficult to be mastered, and which, if unmastered, must inevitably produce much worse effects, than the other could, which was, the ambition, emulation, and contest, between several Officers of the Army and Parties, which were then in those Countries, whereby their Troops were without any Discipline, and the Country as much exposed to Rapine and Violence, as it could be under an Enemy, and

in an Article of time when a Body of the Enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better understood, it will be necessary here, in the entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the Estate of the Western Counties, at the time when the Prince first came to *Bristol*.

B O O K

IX

the Western
Counties,
when the
Prince of
Wales came
to Bristol.

The Lord *Goring* had been sent by his Majesty, before the time of the Prince's coming into the West; with such a Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, and a Train of Artillery, as he desired; into *Hampshire*, upon a design of his own, of making an Incur-sion into *Suffex*; where he pretended "he had cor-
"respondence; and that very many well affected
"Persons promised to rise, and declare for the King,
"and that *Kent* would do the same." And so a Com-mission was granted to him, of Lieutenant-General of *Hampshire*, *Suffex*, *Surrey*, and *Kent*, without the least purpose or imagination that he should ever be near the Prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon *Christ-Church*, in *Hampshire*, a little unfortified Fisher-Town; yet was beaten off with loss: So that he was forced to retire to *Salisbury*; where his Horse committed the same horrid outrages, and barbarities, as they had done in *Hampshire*, without distinction of Friends or Foes; so that those Parts, which before were well devoted to the King, worried by Oppression, wished for the access of any Forces to redeem them. Whilst the Lord *Goring* lay fruitlessly in those Parts, a Party of Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of *Vandruske* a *German*, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of *Taunton*, then blocked up by Colonel

B O O K *Windham*, and reduced to some straits; and accordingly effected it. About the same time, Sir *Walter Hastings*, Governor of *Portland*, seconded by Sir *Lewis Dives* (who had the Command of *Dorsetshire* as Colonel-General) had surpris'd *Weymouth* , and possess'd the Forts, and the upper Town, the Rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower Town, divided from the other by an Arm of the Sea, and of no considerable strength : so that the speedy reducing that small place was not look'd upon as a matter of difficulty. However , lest those Forces which had relieved *Taunton*, and were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were , should be able to disturb the work of *Weymouth*, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the Lord *Goring*, now pretending that his Friends in *Sussex* and *Kent* were not ready for him , was by Order from *Oxford*, upon his own desire, sent thither ; whereby it was thought both the work of *Weymouth*, and *Taunton*, would be speedily effected. Thereupon the Lord *Hopton*, whose right it was to Command in those Counties as Field-Marshal of the West, being sent down by the King to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of *Taunton*, was, by special Order, recalled to *Bristol*, lest there might be dispute of Command between Him and the Lord *Goring* ; the one being General of the Ordinance, the other General of the Horse ; but the Lord *Hopton* was likewise Field-Marshal of the West , in which the Lord *Goring* had no Commission to Command.

Shortly after the Lord *Goring*'s arrival about *Weymouth* , with his full strength of Horse , Foot, and

Dragoons, and Artillery, consisting of above three thousand Horse, and fifteen hundred Foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of so vast Importance, was . by most Supine Negligence at best, retaken by that contemptible Number of the Enemy, who had been beaten into the lower Town, and who were looked upon as Prisoners at Mercy. The mysteries of which fatal loss were never inquired into; but with great plainness, by the Vote of the County, imputed to General *Goring's* natural want of Vigilance; who thereupon retired with his whole strength into *Somersetshire*. His Highness, upon his arrival at *Bristol*, found the West in this Condition; All *Dorsetshire* entirely possessed by the Rebels, save only what Sir *Lewis Dives* could protect by his small Garrison at *Sherborne*, and the Island of *Portland*, which could not provide for its own Subsistence: the Garrison of *Taunton*, with that Party of Horse and Dragoons which relieved it, commanding a very large circuit, and disturbing other parts in *Somersetshire*: *Devonshire* intent upon the blocking up of *Plymouth*, at one end, and open to incursions from *Lyme*, and prejudiced by *Taunton*, at the other end: The King's Garrisons, in all three Counties, being stronger in Fortifications (which yet were not finished in any place, and but begun in some) than in Men, or any Provisions to endure an Enemy: whilst the Lord *Goring's* Forces equally infested the borders of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Devon*, by unheard of Rapine, without applying themselves to any Enterprize upon the Rebels. *Cornwal* indeed was entire; but being wholly assigned to the blocking up of *Plymouth*,

B O O K yielded no supply to any other Service, or to the
IX. providing its own Garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an Enemy.

Sir *William Waller*, and *Cromwell*, marched together about this time towards the West, and passing through *Wiltshire*, had routed, and taken the whole Regiment of Horse of Colonel *Long*, the High-Sheriff of that County, by his great defect of Courage, and Conduct; and seemed to intend an attempt upon General *Goring*; who was so much startled with the noise at a great distance, that he drew his Forces so far West of *Taunton*, that *Vandruske* had an opportunity to retire with that Body of Horse and Dragoons with which he had relieved *Taunton*, to his fellows; whilst the King's Forces reposed themselves upon the borders of *Devonshire*, the Lord *Goring* himself, and most of his principal Officers, taking that opportunity to refresh at *Exeter*, where they stayed three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his Horse lying upon free Quarter, and plundering to the Gates of the City; which, in the beginning of the year, was an ill Presage to that People, what they were to expect. But finding that Sir *William Waller* made not that haste he apprehended, having borrowed such Horse and Foot as he could procure from *Exeter*, he returned again towards *Taunton*, and gave his Highness an account of his Condition.

The Prince, being attended at *Bristol* by the Commissioners of *Somerset*, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with, which had been made by them at *Oxford*: Of his Guards of Horse and Foot,

which they assured him, for the proportion of that County, should be ready against his coming, not one Man or Horse provided: Of the hundred pound a Week, to be allowed by them towards his Highness's support, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forced to borrow from the Lord *Hopton's* own private store, to buy Bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly that, what had been so particularly, and positively undertaken at *Oxford*, was upon the confidence only of three or four Men, who were governed by Sir *John Stawel*, and Mr. *Fountain* without any concurrence from the rest of the Commissioners of that, or the other three Associated Counties; and that they who had been so confident, instead of forming and pursuing any design for raising of Men or Money, were only busy in making Objections, and preparing Complaints and pursuing their private Quarrels, and Animosities against others. So they brought, every day, Complaints against this and that Governor of Garrisons, for the Riots and Insolences of the Lord *Goring's* Soldiers; and, "that those parts of the Country
" which were adjacent to *Sherborne*, and *Bridge-*
" *water* were compelled to work at those Fortifica-" tions;" with other particulars, most of which, they well knew, in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented; and some of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the Prince endeavoured to give them all encouragement; told them, "that
" he was very sensible of all those disorders, of which
" they complained; and would redress them, as
" soon as they should discern it to be in his Power:

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“ that the Forces under the Lord *Goring* were an
 “ Army by themselves, come down into those Parts,
 “ before his Highness; and stayed then there for
 “ their Protection against the power of *Waller* (which
 “ was ready to invade them) and the Garrison of
 “ *Taunton*, which they confessed infested their whole
 “ Country; that he was very desirous that Army
 “ might move Eastward, as soon as they should put
 “ themselves in such a posture, as might render them
 “ secure against their Enemies; wished them to
 “ propose any Expedients, how the Fortifications of
 “ the Garrisons might be finished, without some
 “ extraordinary help; or to propose the most con-
 “ venient one; and he would join with them; and
 “ desired them to proceed in their Levies of Men,
 “ and Money, in the ways agreed on by themselves;
 “ and they should find all concurrence and assistance
 “ from him” But notwithstanding all he could say
 or do, nothing was reasonably proposed, or admit-
 ted by them, for the advancement of the Public
 Service.

By this time, towards the end of *March*. Sir *Wil-*
liam Waller having advanced with his Horse and
 Dragoons, by *Bath* towards *Bristol*, in hope, as hath
 been said before, to have surpris'd that City by some
 Treachery within, and being disappointed there,
 retired towards *Dorsetshire*, and the edge of *Somerset*,
 adjoining to that County; where *Cromwell* expected
 him; the Lord *Goring* having in the mean while,
 fallen into some of *Cromwell's* Quarters about *Dor-*
chester, and taken some Prisoners, and Horses, and
 disordered the rest. Upon a dispute between them-
 selves,

selves, or some other Orders, *Cromwell* retired to join
 with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* toward *Reading*; Sir *Wil-*
liam Waller stayed in those Parts, to intend the busi-
 ness of the West, but made no haste to advance,
 expecting some Supplies of Foot by Sea at *Weymouth*.
 So that the Lord *Goring* drew back to *Bruton*, and
 sent to the Prince to desire, "that two of his Council
 " might meet him at *Wells* the next day, to consider,
 " what course was best to be taken:" accordingly
 the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*, the next day, met
 his Lordship at *Wells*. Where, after long consideration
 of the whole State of the West, and of the great im-
 portance of reducing *Taunton*, without which no
 great matter could be expected from *Somersetshire*,
 the Lord *Goring* proposed, and put the design in writ-
 ting under his own hand, for the whole method and
 manner of his proceeding, "that he would leave the
 " gross of his Horse, and two hundred Foot mounted
 " in such convenient place, upon the skirts of *Dorset-*
shire, and *Wiltshire*, as they might be able to retire
 " to their Body, if the Enemy advanced powerfully;
 " and that he would himself, with all his Foot, and
 " Cannon, and such Horse as were necessary, at-
 " tempt the taking, or burning of *Taunton*:" and to
 that purpose, desired his Highness, "to send positive
 Orders to Sir *Richard Greenvil* (who, notwithstanding
 his Highness's commands formerly sent to him, and
 some Orders from the King himself, made not that
 haste as might reasonably be expected) "to advance,
 " and to direct the Commissioners of *Somerset* to give
 " their Personal attendance upon that Service; and
 " in the mean time to take care that sufficient Maga-

BOOK "zines of Victual, and Provisions, were made for the
IX. "Soldiers:" all which was exactly performed by his
Highness, the next day after he received the desires
of General *Coring*.

But, within three or four days, and before the
design upon *Taunton* was ready for Execution, it
appeared by constant Intelligence, that *Waller* was
advancing with a great Body of Horse, and Dra-
goons, and some Foot; and therefore the attempt
upon *Taunton* was for the present to be laid aside;
and the Lord *Goring* very earnestly desired the Prince
to Command Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who was now
drawn near to *Taunton*, with eight hundred Horse,
and above two thousand Foot, besides Pioneers,
with all possible speed to march to him, that so he
might be able to abide the Enemy, if they came upon
him; or, otherwise, to compel them to Fight, if
they stayed in those fast Quarters, where they then
were; which was about *Shaftsbury*, *Gillingham*, and
thoses places. The Prince accordingly sent his Com-
mands positively to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, "to advance
"towards the Lord *Goring*, and to obey all such
"Orders, as he should receive from his Lordship."
But he as positively sent his Highness word, "that
"his Men would not stir a foot; and that he had pro-
"mised the Commissioners of *Devon*, and *Cornwal*,
"that he would not advance beyond *Taunton*, till
" *Taunton* were reduced; but that he made no ques-
"tion, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a
"good account of that place." In the mean time,
the Lord *Goring*, very gallantly and successfully, by
night, fell upon Sir *William Waller*'s Quarters twice,

in less than a Week; and killed and took so good a Number, that it was generally believed, Sir *William Waller* was lessened near a thousand Men by those Rencounters; the Lord *Goring* still declaring, "that he could neither pursue his advantages upon a Party, nor engage the main of the Rebels, without the addition of *Greenvil's* Foot;" and he, notwithstanding all Orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing, "that, if he had an addition of six hundred Men, he would be in the Town within six days."

Whilst things stood thus, Sir *William Waller*; much weakened with these disasters, and the time of his Command being near expired, drew back Eastward; and was, by night-marches, retired as far as *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring* had notice of his Motion. Whereupon his Highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, which General *Goring* himself confessed by his Letters, or to engage the Forces under the Command of *Greenvil*, and the other Forces of those parts, in any Action, before the business of *Taunton* should be over (which indeed disappointed all our hopes both of Men, and Money, in that great County) and on the other side, considering, if that place were reduced (as Sir *Richard Greenvil* undertook it should be in six days, and others, who had viewed it, thought it not a work of time) besides the terror it would strike into their Neighbours, there would be an Army of four thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot, ready to be applied to any service they should be directed to, and that then the Lord *Goring* might prosecute his Com.

B O O R IX. mission in *Sussex*, and *Kent*, with such a reasonable Recruit of Foot as should be necessary, and yet his Highness enabled, in a short time, to be in the head of a very good Army, raised out of the four Associated Counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were Garrisoned by the Rebels, or to march toward his Majesty: I say, upon these considerations, the Prince (with the privity and advice of Prince *Rupert*, who was then at *Bristol*, and present at the whole consultation, and the principal adviser in it) writ, upon the eleventh of *April*, to the Lord *Goring*. being then about *Wells*, "that his
 " opinion was, that the Horse and Dragoons under
 " his Lordship's Command, should advance from the
 " Quarters where they then were, much to the pre-
 " judice of that County, into *Dorsetshire*, or *Wilt-*
 " *shire*, or into both of them; and that the Foot and
 " Cannon should march directly towards *Taunton*,
 " according to the design formerly proposed by his
 " Lordship; and referred it to himself, whether his
 " Lordship in Person would stay with the Horse, or
 " go with the Foot; and desired to receive his opi-
 " nion, and resolution upon the whole; there being
 " nothing proposed to be acted in two days." This Letter was sent by Colonel *Windham*, the Governor of *Bridgewater*, who came that day, from before *Taunton*, from Sir *Richard Greenvil*; and could best inform him of the strength of the Town, and the condition of Sir *Richard Greenvil*'s Forces.

The next day Colonel *Windham* returned, with a short sullen Letter from the Lord *Goring* to the Prince, "that he had, according to his Command,

“ sent the Foot and Cannon to *Taunton* ; and the
 “ Horse, to the other places ; and that , since there
 “ was now nothing for him to do , he was gone to
 “ *Bath* to intend his Health : where he complained
 “ privately , that his Forces were taken from him at
 “ a time when he meant to pursue *Waller*, and could
 “ utterly Defeat him ; ” and much inveighed against
 the Prince’s Council , for sending Orders to him so
 prejudicial to the King’s Service : whereas it was
 only an Opinion , and not Orders , grounded upon
 what himself had formerly proposed , and to which
 he was desired to return his present judgment, being
 within half a days Journey of the Prince, upon whom
 he ought to have attended in Person , or have sent
 his advice to him, if what was then offered seemed
 not convenient. But, after some days frolicly spent
 at *Bath*, he returned to his former temper, and wait-
 ing on the Prince at *Bristol*, was contented to be
 told, “ that he had been more apprehensive of Dis-
 “ courtesies than he had cause ; ” and so all misunder-
 standings seemed to be fairly made up.

The Lord *Goring*’s Foot and Cannon being thus
 suddenly sent to *Taunton*, under the Command of
 Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe* ; for the better preventing any
 Mistakes, and Contests about Command , the Prince
 sent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* to *Taunton*, to
 settle all disputes that might arise , and to dispose the
 Country to assist that work in the best manner ; which
 proved very fortunate ; for the same day they came
 thither, Sir *Richard Greenvil*, having brought his
 Forces within Musquet-shot, on one side of *Taunton*,
 went himself to view *Wellington-House*, five Miles

BOOK IX. distant, in which the Rebels had a Garrison, and was, out of a Window, shot in the Thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceived to be Mortal: so that there was no Person who would pretend to Command; those under *Greenvil*, having no experienced Officer of Reputation equal to that Charge, yet being Superior in number to the other, would not be Commanded by Sir *Joseph Wagstaffe*; so that if the Lords had not very happily been present, it is probable, both those Bodies of Foot, each being too weak for the attempt by itself, would, if not disbanded, at best have retired to their former Posts, and left those of *Taunton* at liberty to have done what they thought best. But they being there, and Sir *John Berkeley* being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an Account of the State of *Devonshire*, they persuaded him to undertake the present Charge of the whole (all the Officers of both Bodies having formerly received Orders from him) and to prosecute the former design upon the Town; all Persons submitting till the Prince's Pleasure should be farther known; those Officers under Sir *Richard Greenvil*, presently sending away an Express to *Bristol*, to desire the Lord *Hopton* to take the Command of them. But his Lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular Action with disjointed Forces, till, upon the withdrawing of the Lord *Goring*, the whole Command might be Executed according to former establishment. And so a special direction was sent to all the Officers, and Soldiers, to obey Sir *John Berkeley*, according to what had been formerly settled by the Lords. He, in few days, put the business in

very good Order, and by Storm took *Wellington-House*, where *Greenvil* had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the Lords, coming to visit *Greenvil*, in the instant that he was put into his Litter, and carrying to *Exeter*, told him, what they had thought necessary to be done in the point of Command; the which he seeming very well to approve, they desired him to call his Officers (most of the principal being there present) and to Command them to proceed in the work in hand cheerfully, under the Command of Sir *John Berkeley*; the which he promised to do; and immediately said somewhat to his Officers, at the side of his Litter, which the Lords conceived to be what he had promised: but it appeared after, that it was not so; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither Officer, nor Soldier, did his duty after he was gone, during the time Sir *John Berkeley* Commanded in that Action.

The Prince, finding the Public Service in no degree advanced by the Commissioners of *Somerset*, and that though there was no progress made in the Association affected, and undertaken by them, yet it served to cross, and oppose all other attempts whatsoever; those who had no mind to do any thing, satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the other, who had first proposed it, thinking themselves engaged to consent to no alteration; and his Highness being informed by a Gentleman (sent by him, at his first coming to *Bristol*, to the two farthest Western-Counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the Association) "that those two Counties of *Devon*,

BOOK " and *Cornwal*, were entirely devoted to serve the
 IX. " Prince, in what manner soever he should propose, ' he thought fit, to summon the Commissioners of all the Associated Counties, to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full consideration, such conclusions might be made, as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of *Taunton*, and raising a marching Army; which Counsel had been sooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to *Bristol*, when he discerned the flatness, peremptoriness, and inactivity of the Gentlemen of *Somerset*; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and strength of the two Western Counties, that County could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own sudden and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that shortly after his Highness came to *Bristol*, upon what apprehensions no Man knew, there was great jealousy at *Oxford* of his going farther West; and thereupon direction given " that he should not remove from " *Bristol*, but upon weighty reasons, and with which " his Majesty was to be first acquainted." Whereas, by his instructions, " he was to make his residence in " such a place, as by the Council should be thought " most conducing to his Affairs." However, such a meeting with all the Commissioners being demonstrably necessary, and *Bristol* thought at too great a distance from the West, besides that the Plague begun to break out there very much, for the time of the year, his Highness resolved to go to *Bridge-*

The Prince
 summons the
 Commis-
 sioners of the

water for a few days, and to summon thither the Commissioners, the rather to give some countenance to the business of *Taunton*, then closely Besieged by Sir *John Berkeley*; and to that purpose, directed his Letters to the several Commissioners to attend him there, on *Wednesday* the three-and-twentieth of *April*; the King being then at *Oxford*, preparing for the Field, Prince *Rupert* at *Worcester*, levying Men, and the Rebels at *London* in some disorder and confusion about their new Model, having newly removed the Earl of *Essex*, and Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Denbigh*, and Sir *William Waller* from any Command, and Substituted Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General; who was, out of the other broken and almost dissolved Forces, to mould a new Army, which was then in no very hopeful forwardness.

Upon the day, the Prince came to *Bridgewater*; and was attended by a great body of the Commissioners of *Somerset*, that place being near the centre of that great County; there appeared for *Dorsetshire*, as sent from the rest, Sir *John Strangewaies*, Mr. *Anchetil Grey*, and Mr. *Ryves*; for *Devonshire*, Sir *Peter Ball*, Sir *George Parry*, Mr. *Saint Hill*, and Mr. *Muddyford*; and for *Cornwal*, Sir *Henry Killegrew*, Mr. *Coriton*, Mr. *Scawen*, and Mr. *Roscorroth*. The whole Body waited on the Prince the next morning; and were then told, "that his coming thither was to receive Their Advice, and to give His Assistance, in what might concern the Peace and welfare of each particular County; and might best advance the General service of the King; that if the Association which had been proposed, seemed to them,

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four Associated western Counties to Bridgewater.

BOOK IX. "by the accidents and mutations which had happened since the time of that first proposal" (as in truth very notable ones had happened) "not fit now to be further prosecuted, he was ready to consent to any alteration they should propose, and to join with them in any other expedient; and wished them therefore to confer together, what was best to be done; and when they were ready to propose any thing to him, he would be ready to receive it."

After two or three days consultation amongst themselves, they were unanimously of opinion (except Sir *John Stawel*, who, against all the rest, and against all that could be said to him, continued positive for the general rising of One and All, and for that alone) "that That design was for the present to be laid aside; and that, instead thereof, those Counties, according to their several known proportions would in a very short time" (as I remember a Month was the utmost) "raise, and Arm, six thousand Foot, besides the Prince's Guards, which would be full two thousand more; not reckoning those of the Lord *Goring's* which were fifteen hundred, but including the Foot of Sir *John Berkeley*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* then before *Taunton*;" which all Men concluded, would be reduced in less than a Month. This Proposition being approved by the Prince, all particulars were agreed upon: the several days for the Rendezvous of the new levies, and the Officers, to whom the Men were to be delivered, named; and Warrants issued out accordingly: all things requisite for the speedy reduction of *Taunton* ordered, and directed; so that,

towards the taking that place, and the raising an Army speedily, all things stood so fair, that more could not be wished. BOOK
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As this Journey to *Bridgewater* wrought this good effect, so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discovered another. The Prince, having before his coming from *Oxford* been very little conversant with business, had been persuaded, from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in Council, to mark, and consider the state of Affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking, and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity applied himself; but coming to *Bridgewater*, and having an extraordinary kindness for Mrs. *Windham*, who had been his Nurse, he was not only diverted by her folly, and petulancy, from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accustomed to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the Council; which though at first it made no impression in Him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other People who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himself, and served to bring prejudice to their Counsels throughout the whole course. She had many private designs of benefit and advantage to herself, and her Children, and the qualifying her Husband to do all Acts of power without control upon his Neighbours, and labored to procure Grants, or Promises of Reversions of Lands from the Prince; and finding that the Prince was not to transact any such thing, without the Advice of the Council, and that They were not

B O O K like to comply in those enterprises, she contrived to
IX. raise jealousies and dislikes between them, and kindled such a faction in the Prince's Family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence Sir *Charles Berkeley*, who had a promise to be made Controller of the Prince's Household, and Mr. *Long*, who had the like promise to be his Secretary, when he should be created Prince of *Wales* (till which time those Officers were never made) began to think they had injury done them, that they were not presently of the Prince's Council, to which the places they were to have, gave them Title; though they knew well, that the Lords who then attended upon the Prince, were of the King's Privy-Council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his Highness; and that the other were only of the Prince's own Council for his Revenue, and for the administration of the Dutchy of *Cornwal*, for which his Highness had now his livery.

However, these Fancies, thus weakly grounded, and entertained, made such an impression upon those Persons, that they united themselves into a Faction, and prevailed over the weakness of the Earl of *Berkshire* to join with them; and, by degrees, all of them joined with all other discontented Persons, to render the Council to be much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, she being a Woman of no good breeding, and of a Country-pride, *Nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, valued herself much upon the Power, and Familiarity, which her Neighbours might see she had with the Prince of *Wales*; and therefore, upon all occasions, in company, and when the Concours

of the People was greatest, would use great boldness towards him; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all Companies, where she let herself out to any freedom, a very negligent and disdainful mention of the Person of the King; the knowledge of which humor of hers, was one reason that made his Majesty unwilling his Son should go farther West than *Bristol*; since he knew *Bridgewater* must be a Stage in that motion. This her ill disposition was no sooner known to the Lords, who were all absolute strangers to her before, than they took care that his Highness should make no longer residence in that Garrison.

The other inconvenience, that it discovered, was the design of the Lord *Goring* to have the Command of the West. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for *Kent*, or *Sussex*, he had, from the beginning, affected that Charge; and, I fear, had some other encouragement for it, than was then avowed. And therefore, from his first coming into those Parts, he had with great industry caressed the Commissioners of *Somerset*, and *Devon*, and especially those, whom he thought not well inclined to the Lord *Hopton*; whom, by all ill Arts, he endeavoured to undervalue; inveighing against "the
" too great Contribution, assigned to the Garrison of
" *Bristol*; and that any should be allowed to the unnecessary Garrison (as he called it) at *Lampport*; which
" had been lately settled by the Lord *Hopton*;" and, as appeared afterwards, was of vast importance: those discourses being most Popular to the Country, though most pernicious to the King: and promised " great

BOOK IX. “ strictness and severity of Discipline, if that Power
 “ under the Prince might be devolved to him.” To
Bridgewater he came at the same time from *Bath*,
 upon pretence of “ visiting *Taunton*, and seeing
 “ whether the work were like to be soon done, that
 “ it might be worth the intending it.” But, in truth,
 to drive on his Project for Command with the Com-
 missioners; who were invited by Sir *Peter Bull* to
 make it one of the Propositions to the Prince, “ that
 “ the Lord *Goring* might be constituted his Lieute-
 “ nant-General;” which he himself had so absolutely
 digested, that, as if the matter itself had been out of
 question, he proposed privately to most of the
 Prince’s Council, the Rules that should be observed
 between them in the Government of the Army, and
 the Administration of the Civil part. Some, of no
 extraordinary kindness to *Goring*, wished the agree-
 ment made, and him settled in the Command, as
 the best, if not the only Expedient, for advancement
 of the King’s Service, and for the speedy forming an
 Army worthy of the Prince’s own Person in the
 Head of it; apprehending, that the dividing his
 Forces from the New Levies, would leave a good
 body of Foot without an equal Power of Horse, and
 without a Train, except a longer time were given
 for the making it, than the state of Affairs promised
 to permit. But when *Goring* discovered by his dis-
 course with several of the Council (with whom he
 communicated upon the Argument very freely, and
 expressed in plain English, “ that except he might
 “ be satisfied in the particulars he proposed, he should
 “ have no heart to proceed in the public Service)”

that they would not consent to any Act that might reflect upon the Lord *Hopton*; and that some of them had such a prejudice to his Person, that they would make no conjunction with him; he resolved to compass his ends some other way; and so pressed it no farther in any public address to the Prince at that time. It is not to be omitted, that he was then offered, and assured, “that, as soon as the business of *Taunton* should be over, he should have such a Recruit out of the New Levies, as would make up his own Foot three thousand Men, besides Officers;” with which he might well prosecute his former design;” and, in the mean time, he had the absolute Command; the Lord *Hopton* not at all interposing, or meddling with the Army.

It was now concluded by all Men who had well considered his carriage and behaviour from his first coming into the West, that, as he had formed that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the Prince, and resolved never to march with the Army under Prince *Rupert* (whose nature was not agreeable to him) so that he had purposely and willingly suffered *Vandruske* to Relieve *Taunton*, and even *Weymouth* to be again recovered by that handful of Men who had been beaten out of it, lest the business of the West might be done without him, by other Men; and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if *Taunton* had been reduced, as it must have been if that small Party had not Relieved it even in the last Article, he could have had no pretence to have stayed in those Parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon *Sussex*,

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and those other Counties, for which he had never any reasonable foundation; or have continued his march to the King; which he had less mind to do. When he first left *Oxford*, and went into *Hampshire*, which was before the end of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he had, in his jovial Fits, where he was always very unreserved, declared, with great resentment, "that his Father was ill treated by the Queen in *France*, " and that he hoped shortly to be in such a posture, " that the King should find it reasonable to use both " his Father and Himself better." And yet the King had even then, upon his Suit, made his Father Captain of his Guard of Halberdeers, and Created him Earl of *Norwich*, whereby himself had the Appellation of Lord, which he enough affected: and in his first debauches at *Exeter*, his brother *Porter*, who was Lieutenant-General of his Horse, informed some Persons of Honor in confidence, " that *Goring* resolved " to make himself Lieutenant-General to the Prince, " or else to be very discontented." This Advertisement was sent to some of the Council, upon his Highness's first coming to *Bristol*; and was the first hint that ever they received, that he had affected that Charge; and was not, with the rest of his behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his desire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

The Commissioners of
Devon complain of Sir
Richard Greenville.

The general business concerning the four Counties being agreed and settled at *Bridgewater*. the Commissioners for *Devon*, desired to be heard in what concerned that particular Country; and then informed " his Highness, " that upon Sir *Richard Greenville's* " first

“ first entering upon the work of *Plymouth*, and his
 “ assistance under his hand, that he would take the
 “ Town before *Christmas*-day, and that he would
 “ forthwith Raise, Arm, and pay twelve hundred
 “ Horse, and six thousand Foot, they had assigned
 “ him above one half of their whole Contribution,
 “ amounting to above eleven hundred pounds a
 “ Week; and, for the providing Arms and Ammu-
 “ nition, had assigned him the Arrears of the Con-
 “ tribution due from those hundreds allotted to him;
 “ which amounted to near 6000l; he having likewise
 “ the whole Contribution of *Cornwal*, being above
 “ seven hundred pound weekly; and had received
 “ most part of the Letter and Subscription-Money of
 “ that County, towards the same Service: that he
 “ had, from his first entering upon the charge, quietly
 “ enjoyed those Contributions in *Devon*, which were
 “ duly paid; and had received the greatest part of
 “ the Arrears assigned to him for the Provision of
 “ Arms and Ammunition: Notwithstanding all
 “ which, he had never bought above twenty Barrels
 “ of Powder, or any Arms, but had received both
 “ the one and the other from Them, out of their Ma-
 “ gazines; and had never maintained, or raised,
 “ near half the Number of Men to which he was
 “ obliged, till the Week before he was required to
 “ march to *Taunton*; when he had called the *Posse-*
 “ *Comitatus*, and out of Them forced almost the
 “ whole Number of Foot, which marched with him
 “ thither, bringing them with him, as far as *Exeter*,
 “ unarmed; and there compelled the Commissioners
 “ to supply him with Arms, and Ammunition; that

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" having left scarce two thousand Foot, and four
 " hundred Horſe, before *Plymouth*, he continued
 " ſtill to receive the whole Contribution formerly
 " assigned when he was to have twelve hundred
 " Horſe, and ſix thouſand Foot; and would not part
 " with any of it: ſo that he received more out of
 " *Devonſhire* for the blocking up of *Plymouth* (having
 " all *Cornwal* to himſelf likewiſe) than was left for the
 " Garrifons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnſtable*, and
 " *Tiverton*, and for the finiſhing thoſe Fortifications,
 " Victualling the Garrifons, providing Arms and
 " Ammunition; with which they had before not
 " only ſupplied themſelves but had ſent great quan-
 " tities to the King's Army, to the Lord *Goring*, and
 " to the Siege of *Taunton*: That he would not ſuffer
 " them to ſend any Warrants to collect the Letter
 " and Subscription-Money, to ſettle the Excife, or
 " meddle with Delinquents Eſtates in the hundreds
 " assigned to him for Contribution; and had thoſe
 " continual conteſts with Sir *John Berkeley*, being
 " Colonel-General of the County, and the other
 " Governors of Garrifons; pretending that He had
 " power to Command them; that there was ſuch an
 " Animofity grown between them, that they very
 " much apprehended the danger of thoſe diviſions;
 " there having been ſome blood ſhed, and Men
 " killed, upon their private Conteſts:" and therefore
 " beſought his Highneſs, " by his Authority, to ſettle
 " the limits of their ſeveral juriſdictions, in order to
 " the Martial Affairs; and likewiſe to order Sir
 " *Richard Greenvil* to receive no more Contribution,
 " than would ſuffice for the maintenance of thoſe

“ Men, who continued before *Plymouth*; whereby
 “ they could be only enabled to perform Their parts
 “ of the Association.”

This was pressed with so much earnestness, and reason, that it was thought very advisable for his Highness himself to go to *Exeter*, where both the Commissioners and Sir *Richard Greenvil* were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole dispute. But, at the same time, and whilst that matter was in consideration, Letters came from his Majesty to his Highness and the Lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther Westward; upon what reasons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the Prince himself returned to *Bristol* on *Wednesday* the thirtieth of *April*, having staid at *Bridgewater* only seven days; and sent the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper*; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to *Exeter*, with instructions “ to examine all the complaints, “ and allegations of the Commissioners, and to “ settle the business of the Contribution; and “ upon view of the several Commissions of Sir *John Berkeley*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*, so to agree the “ matter of jurisdiction, that the public Service might “ not be obstructed.”

Upon which the Prince sends three Commissioners of his own to *Exer* and so to return to *Bristol*:

As soon as the Lords appointed by his Highness to go to *Exeter*, came thither, they went the same hour to Visit Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who was still bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a Visit, and so would not reply, at that time, to many very sharp, and bitter complaints and invectives he made against Sir *John Berkeley* (who was then at the Leaguer before *Taunton*) but told him, “that they would come

BOOK IX. “to him again the next day, and consider of all businessses.” Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complained of the Governor, and some disrespect from his Lieutenant-Governor: but when he was pressed to particulars, he mentioned principally some high and disdainful Speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some Prisoners from him, which he had sent his Marshal for near *Taunton*. The truth of which, was this; whilst Sir *Richard* was before *Taunton*, he had sent for one Mr *Syms*, a Justice of Peace of the County, a rich and decrepit Man, who lived within three miles of that Town. He charged him with some inclinations to the Rebels, and of favoring their proceedings. The Gentleman stood upon his justification, and innocency, and desired to be upon any Trial. However, Sir *Richard* told him, “he was a Traytor, and should redeem himself at a thousand pound, or else he would proceed in another way;” and gave him three days to provide the Money. Before the time expired, Sir *Richard* was hurt, and carried to *Exeter*; whither he no sooner came, but he despatched his Marshal to fetch Mr. *Syms* to him; who appealed to Sir *John Berkeley* (who had then the Command) and desired to be put upon any Trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for Travel) many Gentlemen of the best Quality gave him a very good Testimony, and undertook for his Appearance, when-ever he should be called upon. Upon this, Sir *John Berkeley* discharged the Marshal, and writ a very civil Letter to Sir *Richard Greenville*, of the whole matter; “and

“ that he would see the Gentleman forth-coming
 “ upon the least warning; but that it would be an
 “ Act of great cruelty, to carry him a Prisoner, in
 “ that indisposition of health, from his House.” Sir
Richard looked upon this as the robbing him of a
 thousand pounds, and writ such a Letter to Sir *John*
Berkeley, so full of ill Language, and reproach, as I
 have never seen the like From. and To a Gentleman;
 and complained to us of the Injury. We told him,
 “ that neither He, nor Sir *John Berkeley*, had any
 “ Authority to meddle with Mr. *Syms*, or any Per-
 “ sons of that Quality; who could not be looked
 “ upon as Prisoners of War; but if in truth he should
 “ prove to be a Delinquent, and guilty of those
 “ crimes objected against him, his Fine and Com-
 “ position was due to the King, who had assigned
 “ the same to the Prince for the public Service; and
 “ that there were Commissioners, before whom he
 “ was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might
 “ only compound.” He would not understand the
 reason of this, but insisted upon “ Sir *John Berkeley*’s
 “ protecting *Syms*, as a great indignity to himself.”
 On the other hand, Sir *John Berkeley* complained by
 his Letters, “ that those Soldiers brought to *Taunton*
 “ by *Greenvil*, every day moulder’d away, and he
 “ had reason to believe it was by His direction; for
 “ that those that staid, and the Officers, were very
 “ backward in performing their duties; and that,
 “ after the taking of *Wellington-House*, he had com-
 “ manded that nothing should be done towards the
 “ defacing it, because it might possibly be fit to put
 “ a Garrison into it, if the Siege should be rais’d.

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“ from *Taunton*; but that the Officer, who was
“ under *Greenvil*, had, notwithstanding such Com-
“ mand, burned it: That he proceeded in the levy-
“ ing Monies, and sending out extravagant War-
“ rants throughout the County; and many other
“ particulars.”

Sir *Richard Greenvil* denied, “ that the Soldiers left
“ the Leaguer, or that *Wellington-House* was burned,
“ by any direction of His:” though it appeared,
that all such Soldiers as left their Colors and came to
him, were kindly used, and had Money given to
them by him; and that Lieutenant-Colonel *Robinson*,
after he had received Orders from Sir *John Berkeley*
not to slight *Wellington-House*, rode to *Exeter* to Sir
Richard Greenvil, and immediately, upon his return
from him, caused it to be burnt. *Greenvil* said, “ that
“ he levied no Monies, nor issued out any Warrants,
“ but what he had Authority to do by his Commis-
“ sion.” In the end they showed him their Instruc-
tions from the Prince, “ thoroughly to examine all
“ differences between them; and, upon view of
“ both their Commissions, to agree what limits each
“ of them should observe.” Thereupon, he showed
them his Commission in Paper, under his Majesty’s
Sign Manual, attested by the Lord *Digby*, by which
he was authorized “ to Command the Forces before
“ *Plymouth*,” and in order thereunto, with such clau-
ses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the
posse, and Command the Trained-bands, and indeed
the whole Forces of both Counties; and was to re-
ceive Orders from his Majesty, and his Lieutenant-
General; and was likewise at that time High-Sheriff

of *Devon*. Sir *John Berkeley's* Commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the Great Seal of *England*, "of Colonel-General of the Counties of "*Devon* and *Cornwal*, and to Command the whole "Forces of both Counties, as well Trained-bands, "as others;" so that, though their Commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses, and powers, so much the same, that either of them had Authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the other: which, between Persons so disinclined one to the other as they were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been so near by his Highness's Authority.

After the perusal of their Commissions, they showed him their Instructions, concerning the regulating the Contributions, in proportionable assignments for the several Services; and desired his opinion, "what Forces were now necessary for the "blocking up of *Plymouth*, since any attempt for "the taking it was to be laid aside, at least for a "time? And that thereupon, such assignation might "be made to that purpose, as was sufficient, and the "rest otherwise disposed of." He told them, "that "the Forces then there (being about fifteen hundred "Foot and four hundred Horse, of the *Devonshire*- "side) were sufficient;" and proposed allowance little enough for the Service; and then said, "that "it troubled him to be confined to such an employment, as the blocking up a place, whilst there "was like to be so much Action in the Field; and

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“ therefore he hoped, his Highness would give him
 “ leave to wait on him in the Army; where he thought
 “ he might do him much better Service.” They told
 him, “ they had Authority from the Prince” (for
 some of his Friends had mentioned the same, soon
 after he had received his wound) “ if they found his
 “ health able to bear it, and his inclination led him
 “ that way, to let him know, that his Highness
 “ would be glad of his Service, in the moulding that
 “ Army which was then raising; which, allowing
 “ two thousand Foot to the recruiting the Lord
 “ Goring, would be in view six thousand Foot, and
 “ above two thousand Horse with the Guards: in
 “ which he had designed Him the Second Place of
 “ Command.” But then, they said, “ they knew
 “ not where to place the Command before *Plymouth*.”
 Sir *Richard* very cheerfully received the Proposition
 for himself in the Army; and for *Plymouth*, he said,
 “ no Man was fit to undertake the work There,
 “ but Sir *John Berkeley*, who had the Command of
 “ both Counties: that it was visible by the differences
 “ and breaches that had been between Them, how
 “ inconvenient it would be to have that Charge in-
 “ dependent; whereas. if it were in one hand, the
 “ unanimous consent of both Counties, and all the
 “ Forces in them, would more easily do the business.”

All things being thus agreed upon, as far as they
 could be without Sir *John Berkeley*'s consent, who was
 then before *Taunton*; the Lords resolved to return to
 the Prince, and in their way to dispose Sir *John*
Berkeley to what had been proposed; and left the
 Chancellor of the Exchequer at *Exeter*, to agree with

the Commissioners, upon the settlement of the Contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they had resolved upon. The whole Contribution of the County of *Devon* amounted to two thousand pound Weekly; whereof so many hundreds were assigned by the Commissioners, for the maintenance of the Forces before *Plymouth*, as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by Sir *Richard Greenvil* himself; and then so many to the Garrisons of *Exeter*, *Dartmouth*, *Barnstable*, and *Tiverton*, as amounted to the payment of such Forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be absolutely necessary for their defence, at the lowest establishment. All which being done, upon supposition that the whole Contribution, being two thousand pound Weekly, would be, according to the assignments, exactly paid, there remained not a penny overplus, for the buying Ammunition and Arms, for the finishing Fortifications, for Victualling the Garrisons, or for blocking up of *Lyme*; which if it were not done, all that part of the Country would be liable to that pressure; and so, unable to pay Contribution where it was assigned. But it was supposed, the last might be done by drawing out some Numbers from the several Garrisons, if there were no disturbance from abroad; and the rest must be supplied out of the Excise (the Major part whereof was by the King assigned for the Support of the Princess *Henrietta* left at *Exeter*) and some other extraordinary ways to be thought of; the Letter-Money, and Subscription-Money, being almost exhausted.

His Highness was no sooner returned to *Bristol* The Lord

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Goring joins
the King at
Oxford.

from *Bridgewater*, which was on the last day of *April*, than General *Goring* was sent for by the King, to draw his Horse and Dragoons towards *Oxford*; that thereby his Majesty might free himself from *Cromwell*; who, with a very strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joining with Prince *Rupert* about *Worcester*. How unwelcome soever these Orders were to the Lord *Goring*, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them: and it was now hoped, that the West should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He marched with that Expedition towards the King, who was then at *Woodstock*, that he fell upon a Horse-Quarter of *Cromwell's*, and another Party of *Fairfax's* Horse, as they were attempting a passage over the River of *Isis*, so prosperously (the very Evening before he came to the King) that he broke and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great Reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome: and it was indeed a very seasonable Action, to discountenance, and break such a Party, in the Infancy of their new model; and did break their present measures, and made *Fairfax* to appoint a new place of Rendezvous for his new Army, at a greater distance from the King's Forces.

Resolutions
taken at
Oxford.

Prince *Rupert*, who now met with very little opposition in Council, had, throughout the Winter, disposed the King to resolve "to march Northwards, " and to fall upon the *Scottish* Army in *Yorkshire*, " before *Fairfax* should be able to perfect his new " model to that degree, as to take the Field." This

design was not unreasonable; nor the Prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them for what passed the last year; which, now they were separated from the *English*, who had indeed defeated him, he believed was easy to be done. That purpose of marching Northward was now the more hastened, that, in the way, *Chester* might be relieved; which was closely besieged; and then they might come soon enough to *Pontefract*-Castle, before which the *Scottish* Army then was; and if they could defeat that, the King would be again, upon the matter, Master of the North: which, by the insolence of the *Scots*, and the dislike they had of the new model, was conceived to be better affected than ever. The next day after *Goring* came to the King, the Army was drawn to a Rendezvous, and consisted then of five thousand Foot, and above six thousand Horse; an Army not to be reasonably lessened in the beginning of a Campaign, when the King was to expect he should have so much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable, that the Summer might have been crowned with better success.

Fairfax was then about *Newbury*, not in readiness to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was. It was said, that his design was to carry his whole Army to the relief of *Taunton*, brought almost to extremity; which if he could bring to pass, would give him great reputation, and would make the Parliament near Sharers with the King in the interest of the West. Upon this prospect, it was thought reasonable, and accordingly proposed, "that the King himself would march with his Army into

B O O K IX. “ the West; and thereby, not only prevent the relief
“ of *Taunton* , but compel *Fairfax* to Fight, before
“ he should be able to join with *Cromwell*; who had
“ not gathered his Troops together.” This was the
concurrent advice of the whole Council with which
the King used to consult. Prince *Rupert* only excepted,
and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who Commanded
the Northern-Horse; which were impatient to be in
their own Country. Now the very contrary Affec-
tions towards each other, between Prince *Rupert* and
the Lord *Goring*, began to co-operate to one and the
same end. The Prince found that *Goring*, as a Man
of a ready Wit, and an excellent Speaker, was like to
have most Credit with the King in all debates; and
was jealous, that, by his Friendship with the Lord
Digby, he would quickly get such an interest with
his Majesty, that his own Credit would be much
Eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that *Goring*
should return again into the West, than *Goring* did,
not to remain where Prince *Rupert* Commanded.
This produced a great Confidence and Friendship
between them, and the Prince told him all that any
of the Council had spoken freely to him, when his
Highness abhorred nothing more than that *Goring*
should be near the Prince of *Wales*; and *Goring* said
all of the Council, which he believed would most
irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do
all they could, to lessen the Credit and Authority of
the Council. The King was desired to receive the
Information, and State of the West, from *Goring*;
who, upon the late good Fortune he had, and by the
Artifices of the Lord *Digby*, was too easily believed.

He informed the King with all imaginable confidence, “ that if, by the positive Command of the
“ Prince, contrary to his opinion and advice, his
“ Forces had not been taken from him, and applied
“ to the Siege of *Taunton*, he had doubtless totally
“ ruined all *Waller’s* Forces, and prevented the coming of those Parties who had given his Majesty so
“ much trouble at *Oxford*: that he had been always
“ used, upon his resort to the Prince, with great respect, being not called into the Council, but put
“ to an attendance without, amongst inferior Suiters;” and then told many particular passages at *Bridgewater*, of which he raised advantage to himself, upon the prejudice he begot to others.

Whereas the truth of the design upon *Taunton* is before set down, with all the circumstances; and *Waller* was marched beyond *Salisbury*, before the Lord *Goring*, knew where he was; and confessed, there was no overtaking him; and he had always received as much respect from the Prince, and Council, as could be given to a Subject; being constantly called, and admitted to Council when he was present; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the Council, upon such particulars as himself proposed, with a full reference to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judged most meet: yet, I say, he got so much Credit, that the King, by his Letters of the tenth of *May* to the Prince, directed, “ that General *Goring* should be admitted into all
“ consultations and Debates, and advised withal, as
“ if he were one of the established Council; that
“ Prince *Rupert* having granted him Power, to give

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“ Commissions in that Army, all Commissions to be
 “ granted should pass by General *Goring*; and that
 “ none should be granted by the Prince. in his own
 “ Name, otherwise than in such Cases as were of re-
 “ lation merely to the Association: that the Council
 “ should contribute their opinions and advices to
 “ General *Goring*, but that his Highness should care-
 “ fully forbear to give unto the Lord *Goring* any po-
 “ sitive or binding Orders;” whereas, by his Instruc-
 tions, when he came from *Oxford*, he was to put both
 his Commissions, of Generalissimo, and of General
 of the Association in execution, as he found most
 convenient; his Majesty himself then entertaining
 very little hope of the Association, as it was proposed;
 and therefore, by his Letters to the Prince of the
 twentieth of *April*, which came to him at *Bridgewater*,
 all the assignments formerly made towards the Asso-
 ciation, were directed to be disposed, and converted
 to such uses, as by the advice of his Council should
 be found most advantageous to the Service of those
 Parts; and thereupon the Levies were consented to,
 and directed as is before mentioned. With these
 triumphant Orders, the Lord *Goring* returned into
 the West; where we shall now leave him, and wait
 upon his Majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we
 find cause enough to lament that Counsel, which so
 fatally dismissed *Goring*, and his Forces, at a time, in
 which, if he had been born to Serve his Country, his
 presence might have been of great use and benefit to
 the King; which it was never after in any occasion.

The Lord
Goring sent
 back into the
 West.

When *Goring* was thus separated from the King's
 Army, his Majesty marched to *Evesham*; and in his

way, drew out his Garrison from *Cambden-House*; which had brought no other benefit to the Public, than the enriching the licentious Governor thereof; who exercised an illimited Tyranny over the whole Country, and took his leave of it, in wantonly burning the Noble Structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building. Within few days after the King left *Evesham*, it was surpris'd by the Enemy, or rather storm'd and taken for want of Men to defend the Works; and the Governor, and all the little Garrison made Prisoners. The loss of this place was an ill Omen to the succeeding Summer; and, upon the matter, cut off all the intercourse between *Worcester*, and *Oxford*; nor was it at all repaired by the taking of *Hawkesly-House* in *Worcestershire*; which the Rebels [had fortified, and made strong, and which the King's Army took in two days, and therein the Governor, and one hundred and twenty Prisoners; who serv'd to redeem those who were lost in *Evesham*. And so, by easy and flow marches the Army prosecuted their way towards *Chester*. But, in *Staffordshire*, the Lord *Byron*, who was Governor of *Chester*, met the King; and inform'd him, "that the Rebels, upon the noise of his Majesty's advance, were drawn off;" and so there was no more to be done, but to prosecute the Northern design; which was now intended, and the Army upon it's march accordingly, when Intelligence was brought, "that *Fairfax* had sent a strong Party to relieve *Taunton*, and was Himself, with his Army, sat down before *Oxford*." This could not

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Marches of
the King's
Army towards
the North,
whilst Sir
Thomas Fair-
fax with his,
sat down be-
fore *Oxford*

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but make some alteration, at least a pause in the Execution of the former Counsels: and yet *Oxford* was known to be in so good a Condition, that the loss of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wished, than that *Fairfax* should be thoroughly engaged before it: And it was concluded, “that the best way to “draw him from thence, would be to fall upon some “place possessed by the Parliament.”

The King
storms, and
takes Lei-
cester.

They had no Town so considerable near the place where the King then was, as *Leicester*; in which there was a good Garrison, under the Command of Sir *Robert Pye*; and Prince *Rupert*, who was always pleased with any brisk attempt, cheerfully entertained the first motion, and sent Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his Horse; and the next day, being the last of *May*, the whole Army was drawn about the Town, and the Prince, having taken a view of it, Commanded a Battery to be forthwith raised against an old high stone-Wall, on the South-side of the Town; which, by his own continued presence, was finished with admirable diligence: which done, he sent a Summons to the Governor; who returned not such an Answer as was required. Thereupon the Battery began to play; and, in the space of four hours, made such a Breach, that it was thought Counselable, the same Night to make a general Assault with the whole Army, in several places; but principally at the Breach; which was defended with great Courage, and Resolution; insomuch, that the King's Forces were twice repulsed with great loss, and slaughter;
and

and were even ready to draw off in despair: when another Party, on the other side of the Town, under the Command of Colonel *Page*, seconded by a Body of Horse that came but that day from *Newark*, and, putting themselves on Foot, advanced, with their Swords and Pistols, with the other, entered the Town; and made way for their Fellows to follow them: so that, by the break of day, the Assault having continued all the Night, all the King's Army entered the Line. Then the Governor, and all the Officers and Soldiers, to the Number of twelve hundred, threw down their Arms, and became Prisoners of War: whilst the Conquerors pursued their advantage, with the usual Licence of Rapine, and Plunder, and miserably sacked the whole Town, without any distinction of Persons, or Places; Churches, and Hospitals, as well as other Houses, were made a Prey to the enraged, and greedy Soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King; who well knew, that, how disaffected soever that Town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest: but those Seasons admitted no difference of Persons. Though the place was well gotten, because so little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the King's side; there being near two hundred Soldiers dead upon the places of Assault, with many Officers; Colonel *Saint George*, and others of Name; besides many more wounded, and maimed. The King presently made the Lord *Loughborough*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Huntington*, and one who

B O O K had served him eminently from the beginning of the
IX. War, Governor of *Leicester*; and Sir *Matthew Apple-*
yard, a Soldier of known Courage and Experience,
 his Lieutenant-Governor.

The taking of *Leicester*, the chief Town of that Province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an Act of great Courage, gave the King's Army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at *Westminster*; who now revolved the conditions, which were offered at *Uxbridge*; which they had refused. They began to curse their new model; and to reproach those who had persuaded them "so ungratefully to throw off their old General, who was ready to foment all their discontents. It was not above twenty days, that the King's Army had been in the Field, and in that short time, it had reduced two strong Garrisons of *Theirs*, without giving the Soldiers any conditions, *Hawkesly House* in *Worcestershire*, and the Town of *Leicester*: whilst their new General *Fairfax* had only faced *Oxford* at a distance, to try whether the Ladies would prevail for the giving up of the Town, to pacify their fears; and had attempted to take a poor House that lay near, *Borstall-House*, and had been beaten from thence with considerable loss, and had drawn off from both, very little to his Honor." These discourses were so public in the City, and had so much Credit in both Houses of Parliament, that they exceedingly desired Peace, and exercised their thoughts only how they might revive the old Treaty, or set a new one on foot; when the evil Genius of the Kingdom in a moment shifted the whole Scene.

Leicester was a Post, where the King might, with all possible Convenience and Honor, have sat still, till his Army might have been recruited, as well as thoroughly refreshed. Colonel *Gerrard* was upon his march towards him from *Wales*, with a Body of three thousand Horse and Foot: and he had reason to expect, that the Lord *Goring* would be very shortly with him with his Horse; for he was not departed from the King above four or five days, with those Orders which are mentioned before (and with which he was so well pleased) but that the King saw cause to repent his separation, and sent other Orders to recal him as soon as was possible. But the King's fate, and the natural unsteadiness, and irresolution of those about him, hurried him into Counsels very disagreeable to the posture he was in. He knew not that *Fairfax* was gone from *Oxford*; and the Intelligence which some Men pretended to have received from thence, was, "that it was in distress." The Duke of *York* remained there; the Council, many Lords and Ladies, who sent Intelligence to their Friends, and all the Magazines were there, and if all these should fall into the Enemies hands, *Leicester* would appear a very poor recompence. These particulars being unskilfully, yet warmly pressed by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the King resolved to march directly for *Oxford*; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of *Leicester*, he appointed the Rendezvous for his Army; where he might yet very reasonably have been discouraged from prosecuting that intention; for it then appeared evidently, how very much it was weakened

B O O K

IX.

The King
marches
back towards
Oxford.

B O O K by, and since that Action, by the loss of those who
IX. were killed and wounded in the Storm; by the absence of those who were left behind in the Garrison; and by the running away of very many with their Plunder, who would in few days have returned.

The number of the King's Foot which remained, did not amount to above three thousand five hundred; which was not a Body sufficient to Fight a Battle for a Crown. Then, all the Northern Horse, who had promised themselves, and were promised by the King, that they should go into their own Country, were so displeased with this new Resolution, that they were with great difficulty restrained from Disbanding; and, though they were at last prevailed with to march, were not enough recovered to be depended upon in any sudden Action. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continued; the next day, at *Harborough*, the Intelligence came "that *Fairfax* was drawn off from *Oxford*, without having ever approached so near it, as to discharge one Piece of Cannon upon it; that he had been beaten off from *Borstal*-House with the loss of Officers, as well as Soldiers; and that he was marched with his whole Army to *Buckingham*." But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was less reason to march Northward, since they might well apprehend the *Scottish* Army in their Face, and *Fairfax* in their Rear. But there was the same reason still for their retiring back to *Leicester*, or to *Worcester*, where they might expect, and could not fail of an Addition of Forces to the Army; and where the Enemy, who must now

Sir Thomas
 Fairfax draws
 off from
 Oxford.

be obliged to find them out, must come with many disadvantages. These Considerations were all laid aside, and every body believed, that *Fairfax* his Army was much dispirited, by having failed in their two first Enterprises; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover Courage, before it should be brought to Fight with so Victorious Troops, as the King's were: and therefore, that it was best to find them out, whilst their fear was yet upon them: all Men concluding that to be true, which their own wishes suggested to them. So the Army marched to *Daventry* in *Northamptonshire*: where, for want of knowing where the Enemy was, or what he intended to do, the King remained in a quiet posture the space of five days.

Upon the thirteenth of *June*, the King received Intelligence that *Fairfax* was advanced to *Northampton*, with a strong Army; much superior to the Numbers he had formerly been advertised of. Whereupon, his Majesty retired the next day to *Harborough*; and meant to have gone back to *Leicester*, that he might draw more Foot out of *Newark*, and stand upon his defence, till the other Forces which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very Night, an Alarm was brought to *Harborough*, that *Fairfax* himself was Quartered within six Miles. A Council was presently called, the former Resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken, "to Fight;" to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the Enemy was within any distance. They would not stay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And

BOOK IX so, in the Morning early, being *Saturday* the fourteenth of *June*, all the Army was drawn up, upon a rising ground of very great advantage about a Mile South from *Harborough* (which was left at their back) and there put in order to give or receive the Charge. The main Body of the Foot was led by the Lord *Apsley* (whom the King had lately made a Baron) consisting of about two thousand and five hundred Foot; the right Wing of Horse, being about two thousand, was led by Prince *Rupert*; the left Wing, consisting of all the Northern Horse, with those from *Newark*, which did not amount to above sixteen hundred, was Commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; in the Reserve, were the King's Life-Guard, Commanded by the Earl of *Lindsey*, and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment of Foot (both which did make very little above eight hundred) with the King's Horse-Guards, Commanded by the Lord *Bernard Stuart* (newly made Earl of *Lichfield*) which made that day about five hundred Horse.

The Army, thus disposed in good order, made a stand on that ground to expect the Enemy. About eight of the Clock in the Morning, it began to be doubted, whether the Intelligence they had received of the Enemy was true. Upon which the Scout-master was sent to make farther discovery; who, it seems, went not far enough; but returned and averred, "that he had been three or four Miles forward, " and could neither discover, nor hear any thing of " them:" presently a report was raised in the Army, " that the Enemy was retired." Prince *Rupert* thereupon drew out a Party of Horse and Musqueteers,

both to discover, and engage them, the Army remaining still in the same place, and posture they had been in. His Highness had not marched above a mile, when he received certain Intelligence of Their advance, and in a short time after, he saw the Van of their Army, but it seems not so distinctly, but that he conceived they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his Horse, and sent back, "that the Army should march up to him;" and the Messenger who brought the Order, said, "that the Prince desired they should make haste." Hereupon the advantage-ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the Enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had marched about a mile and a half, the Horse of the Enemy was discerned to stand upon a high ground about *Naseby*; whence, seeing the manner of the King's march, in a full Campaign, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves, with all the advantages they could desire. The Prince's natural heat, and impatience, could never endure an Enemy long in his view; nor let him believe that they had the courage to endure his Charge. Thus the Army was engaged before the Cannon was turned, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to Fight: so that Courage was only to be relied upon, where all Conduct failed so much.

It was about ten of the Clock, when the Battle began: The first Charge was given by Prince *Rupert*; who, with his own, and his Brother Prince *Maurice's* Troop, performed it with his usual vigor; and was so well seconded, that he bore down all before him,

B O O K
IX.

The Battle
of Naseby.

B O O K IX. and was Master of six pieces of the Rebels best Cannon. The Lord *Astley*, with His Foot, though against the Hill advanced upon Their Foot; who discharged their Cannon at them but over-shot them, and so did their Musqueteers too. For the Foot on either side hardly saw each other till they were within Carabine shot, and so only gave one Volley; the King's Foot, according to their usual custom, falling in with their Swords, and the But-ends of their Musquets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the Enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right Wing of Horse and Foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left Wing, under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, in five Bodies, advanced with equal resolution; and was encountered by *Cromwell*, who Commanded the right Wing of the Enemies Horse, with seven Bodies greater, and more numerous than either of the other; and had, besides the Odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the King's Horse were obliged to march up the Hill, before they could Charge them: yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of Numbers would enable them to do. But being flanked on both sides by the Enemies Horse, and pressed hard, before they could get to the top of the Hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them. Four of the Enemies Bodies, close, and in good order, followed them, that they might not rally again; which they never thought of doing; and the rest Charged the King's Foot, who had till then so much the advantage over Theirs; whilst Prince *Rupert*, with the right Wing, pursued those Horse which he had broken and defeated.

The King's Reserve of Horse, which was his own Guards, with Himself in the head of them, were even ready to Charge those Horse who pursued his left Wing, when, on a sudden, such a Panic fear seized upon them, that they all run near a quarter of a mile without stopping; which happened upon an extraordinary accident, that hath seldom fallen out, and might well disturb and disorder very resolute Troops, as those were, and the best Horse in the Army. The King, as was said before, was even upon the point of Charging the Enemy, in the head of his Guards, when the Earl of *Carnewarth*, who rode next to him (a Man never suspected for infidelity, nor yet one from whom the King would have received Counsel in such a case) on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the King's Horse, and swearing two or three full-Mouthed *Scottish Oaths* (for of that Nation he was) said, "will you go upon your death in an instant?" and before his Majesty understood what he would have, turned his Horse round; upon which a word run through the Troops, "that they should *march* to the right hand;" which led them both from Charging the Enemy, and assisting their own Men. Upon this they all turned their Horses, and rode upon the Spur, as if they were every Man to shift for himself.

It is very true that, upon the more Soldierly word *stand*, which was sent after them, many of them returned to the King; though the former unlucky word carried more from him. By this time, Prince *Rupert* was returned with a good Body of those Horse, which had attended him in his prosperous Charge

B O O K on the right Wing : but they having, as they thought,
IX. acted their part, could never be brought to rally themselves again in order, or to Charge the Enemy. That difference was observed all along, in the discipline of the King's Troops, and of those which marched under the Command of *Fairfax*, and *Cromwell* (for it was only under Them, and had never been remarkable under *Essex*, or *Waller*) that, though the King's Troops prevailed in the Charge, and routed those they Charged, they seldom rallied themselves again in order, nor could be brought to make a second Charge again the same day : which was the reason, that they had not an entire Victory at *Edgehill* : Whereas the others Troops, if they prevailed, or though they were beaten, and routed, presently rallied again, and stood in good order, till they received new Orders. All that the King and Prince could do, could not rally their broken Troops, which stood in sufficient Numbers upon the Field, though they often endeavoured it, with the manifest hazard of their own Persons. So that, in the end the King was compelled to quit the Field ; and to leave *Fairfax* Master of all his Foot, Cannon, and Baggage ; amongst which was his own Cabinet, where his most secret Papers were, and Letters between the Queen and Him ; of which they shortly after made that barbarous use as was agreeable to their Natures, and published them in Print ; that is, so much of them, as they thought would asperse either of their Majesties, and improve the prejudice they had raised against them ; and concealed other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.

I shall not stay, in this place, to mention the Names of those Noble Persons who were lost in this Battle; when the King, and the Kingdom were lost in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty Officers, and Gentlemen of prime Quality, dead upon the spot; whose Memories ought to be preserved. The Enemy left no manner of cruelty unexercised that day; and in the pursuit killed above one hundred Women, whereof some were the Wives of Officers of Quality. The King and Prince *Rupert*, with the broken Troops, marched by *Leicester* that Night to *Ashby de la Zouch*; and the next day to *Lichfield*; and continued two days march more, till they came to *Bewdley* in *Worcestershire*; where they rested one day; and then went to *Hereford*, with some disjointed imagination, that they might, with those Forces under *Gerrard*, who was General of South Wales, and was indeed upon his march, with a Body of two thousand Horse and Foot, be able to have raised a new Army. At *Hereford*, Prince *Rupert*, before any formed Counsel was agreed upon, what the King should do next, left the King, and made haste to *Bristol*, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a Powerful and Victorious Enemy; which, he had reason to believe, would in a short time appear before it. Nothing can be here more wondered at, than that the King should amuse himself about forming a new Army in Counties which had been vexed, and worn out with the oppressions of his own Troops, and the Licence of those Governors, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the West, where

B O O K
IX.

The King
retires by
Lichfield to
Bewdley;
thence to
Hereford.

Thence
Prince Ru-
pert retires
to Bristol.

BOOK IX. he had an Army already formed, and a People, generally, well devoted to his Service, whither all his broken Troops, and General *Gerrard*, might have transported themselves, before *Fairfax* could have given them any interruption; who had somewhat to do, before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice, after we have again visited the West.

The Affairs of
the West in
the meantime.

The Sickness which infested *Bristol*, and which was thought to be the Plague, had made it necessary for the Prince of *Wales* to remove from thence: and no place was thought so convenient for his residence as *Barnstable*, a pleasant Town in the North-part of *Devonshire*, well Fortified, with a good Garrison in it, under the Command of Sir *Allen Apfley*. And as his Highness was upon his way thither, he received the Orders which the Lord *Goring*, who was now returned, had procured from the King; which he carefully transmitted to his Highness, as soon as he arrived. At the same time, the Lord *Colepepper* received another Letter from the Lord *Digby*, dated four days after the former Orders, by which he signified "the King's express pleasure, that the Lord *Goring* should Command these Forces in Chief; that Sir *Richard Greenvil* should be Major-General of the whole Army; that Sir *John Berkeley*, as Colonel-General of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, should intend the work before *Plymouth*; and that Prince *Rupert* would send his Ratification of all these; that the Lord *Hopton* should attend his Charge at the Army, as General of the Artillery." To which

purpose, his Majesty with his own hand writ to the Lord *Hopton*; “ and that the Prince should not be in the Army, but keep his residence in a safe Garrison; and There, by the advice of his Council, manage and improve the business of the West, and provide reserves, and reinforcements for the Army:” with an Intimation, “ Mr. *Smith’s* House, near *Bristol*, would be a convenient place for his residence.”

The Prince and Council were much amazed at these Orders and Resolutions, so different from those which had been made; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might represent faithfully to his Majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon: well knowing, that if it were believed in the Country, that the Prince’s Authority was in the least manner superseded, or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful Levies, upon the agreement at *Bridgewater*, would be in a moment determined; the Gentlemen who were to raise Regiments, professing, “ that they would receive no Commissions but from his Highness.” But whatever care They used to conceal the matters of those Letters, and to hasten away a despatch to the King concerning them, the Lord *Goring* took as much care to publish them; and from that time expressed all possible contempt at least of the Council attending the Prince. However, within three days, there was another change; for the Lord *Digby* (sending at the same time express Orders from the King to the Lord *Goring* to that purpose) by his Letters to the Lords of the Council, of the nineteenth of

BOOK IX. *May*, within five days after the former, signified
 “ his Majesty’s pleasure, that the Lord *Goring* should
 “ march forthwith towards *Northamptonshire* with
 “ all the Forces could be spared; and that the Prince
 “ himself should stay at *Dunstar-Castle*, and encourage
 “ the new Levies:” it being (I presume) not known
 at Court, that the Plague, which had driven him
 from *Bristol*, was as hot in *Dunstar-Town*, just under
 the Walls of the Castle. At the same time, a Letter
 to the Lord *Hopton* from the King, ordered him “ to
 “ Command the Forces under the Prince.” The
 Prince was then, as was said before in his way to *Barn-*
stable; having left five hundred of his Guards to keep
 the Fort in *Bristol*, the Garrison being then very thin
 there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for
 the Service before *Taunton*.

General *Goring*, upon his return from the King,
 found *Taunton* relieved by a strong Party of two
 thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot, which un-
 happily arrived in the very Article of reducing the
 Town, and after their Line was entered, and a
 third part of the Town was burned. But this Supply
 raised the Siege, the Besiegers drawing off without any
 loss; and the Party that relieved them, having done
 their work, and left some of their Foot in the Town,
 made what haste they could, to make their Retreat
 Eastward; when *Goring* fell so opportunely upon
 their Quarters, that he did them great mischief; and
 believed that, in that disorder, he had so shut them up
 between narrow passes, that they could neither retire to
Taunton, nor march Eastward: and doubtless he had
 them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all

Men that knew the Country. But, the extreme ill disposing his Parties, and for want of particular Orders (of which many Men spoke with great licence) his two Parties sent out, several ways, to fall upon the Enemy at *Petherton-Bridge*, the one Commanded by Colonel *Thornill*, the other by Sir *William Courtney* (both diligent, and sober Officers) they fell foul on each other, to the loss of many of their Men; both the chief Officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken, before they knew their Error; through which the Enemy with no more loss got into, and about *Taunton*; notwithstanding which untoward accident, General *Goring* was, or seemed, very confident that he should speedily so distress them, that the place would be the sooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his Mercy.

This was before the latter end of *May*; when, upon the confidence of speedily despatching that work, all possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with Provisions, and to send all the new Levied Men, and 'his Highness's own Guards thither. Inso-much, as he had within few days a Body of full five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; which he Quartered at the most convenient places; rather for ease, than duty; having published Orders, under pretence of preserving the Country from plunder, and with a promise of most exemplary Discipline, "that six pence a day should be collected for the payment of each Trooper;" to which he got the Commissioners consent; by virtue whereof, he raised great Sums of Money, without the least abate-

B O O K ment of the former disorders: yet he proceeded with
IX. such Popular circumstances, sending most specious Warrants out, and Declarations for Reformation; sometimes desiring, “that solemn Prayers might be said “ in all Churches for him; and to desire God to bless “ some attempt he had then in hand;” always using extreme Courtship to the Commissioners (whom he bare-faced informed, “that he was to have, or rather, that he “ had the absolute Command of the West under the “ Prince, without reference to his Council)” that with his Promises, Proclamations, and Courtship, together with laughing at those Persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very Popular consideration till they found, that he promised and published Orders, to no other purpose than to deceive them; and that, whilst he seemed with them to laugh at other Men, he made them Properties only to his own ends.

In this conjuncture, the King’s Letter came to the Lord *Goring*, to march towards *Northamptonshire*; to which he returned an Answer by an Express, before he desired the Prince’s directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his Highness’s opinion for the respite of his march. The truth is, the assurance that he gave of his reducing those Forces within very few days; the leaving all the West to the Mercy of the Rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his Rear, and carrying as great an addition of strength to the Enemy, as General *Goring* could carry to the King. except he carried with him the Forces of the several Garrisons, which were then joined to him, made it very Counselable to suspend a present Obedience to those Orders, till his Majesty

Majesty might receive the full and true State of his Affairs in those parts; to which purpose, an express was sent likewise by his Highness to the King. In the mean time, General *Goring* was so far from making any advance upon *Taunton*, that he grew much more negligent in it, than he had been; suffered Provisions, in great quantities, to be carried into the Town, through the midst of his Men; neglected, and discouraged his own Foot so much, that they ran away, faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to Licence: insomuch that some times he was not seen abroad, in three or four days together. At this time came the news of the fatal blow at *Naseby*, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the West; yet he used no expedition to attempt any thing upon the Enemy, who were exceedingly disheartened; but suffered the Guards to be more negligently kept; insomuch that his Quarters were often beaten up, even in the day-time; whilst some Principal Officers of his Army, as Lieutenant-General *Porter*, and others, with His leave, had several Parleys with the Officers of the Rebels, to the very great scandal of the rest; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he used to mention the Person of the King with great contempt, and avowed in all places a virulent dislike of the Prince's Council. Thus, after about six Weeks lying about *Taunton*, the Forces whereof he promised to confound (I mean those that marched to the relief of it) within few days, he was forced himself to retire, and suffer them to join with Sir *Thomas Fairfax*;

BOOK IX. who in the beginning of July marched towards those parts.

The Prince
of Wales
comes to
Barnstable.

After the Prince came to *Barnstable*, though he very seldom received any account from the Lord *Goring* of what happened, he was informed by several Persons of Credit, "that he was much discontented; and expressed a great sense of disrespect, and unkindnesses that he had received." Therefore it was wished by them, "that some means might be found out, to settle a good understanding with him, whereby he might be encouraged to an Alacrity in so important a Season:" and he having appointed to be at *Tiverton* on such a day, the Prince sent thither Sir *John Berkeley*, Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the Prince having never denied to assist him, in any one particular he had ever proposed, or to grant him any thing he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; "talked only of general neglects put upon him by the Prince's Council; that he had been promised by the King to have the Command of the West, but that they had hindered it; which affront he required to have repaired, before he would do any Service upon the Enemy;" with many bitter Invectives against particular Persons; "whereof, he said, Prince *Rupert* had told him that some thought him not a Man fit to be trusted." They had indeed spoken freely to his Highness to that purpose, upon his very frankly discoursing of him. In the end, these three Persons pressing him as Friends to deal particularly with them, what would

satisfy him; he told them, "if he might be presently
 " made Lieutenant-General to the Prince, and ad-
 " mitted of his Council, and be promised to be
 " Sworn of the Privy-Council, as soon as might be,
 " and to be Gentleman of the Prince's Bed-Chamber,
 " he would then proceed roundly and cheerfully in
 " the business; otherwise, the Prince's Council
 " should do the work themselves for Him." All this
 being so extravagant, it cannot be thought any
 Answer could be given to it, especially it being said
 to them as Friends, and not expressly sent to the
 Prince.

When the Prince first apprehended the advance of
 Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to the West, he very earnestly
 recommended to the Lord *Goring* the state of the Gar-
 risons about *Bridgewater*, especially the Garrison of
Lanport, which was of so great importance, that,
 being well supplied, it had secured *Bridgewater*,
 and all that part of the Country. This Garrison had
 been settled by the Lord *Hopton*, upon his first co-
 ming down to *Taunton*, after *Vandruske* had raised
 the Blockade that Colonel *Windham* had laid to it;
 and Sir *Francis Mackworth* (who, having been for-
 merly Major-General to the Marquis of *New-Castle*;
 was now, that Army being dissolved, returning to
 his Command in the Low-Countries by his Majesty's
 leave) was engaged by him to take the Command
 of it till, upon the Prince's coming into those Parts,
 a worthier Command could be provided for him;
 and before the Lord *Goring's* coming to *Taunton*,
 he had Fortified it to a good degree. This Garrison,
 from the first Establishment, had been much maligned

B O O K by Colonel *Windham*, who desired not to have
IX. another Governor so near him, who was to receive
some of the fruit that he had before looked on as his
own, though never assigned to him: and then,
upon some differences between Sir *John Stawel*, and
Sir *Francis Mackworth*, it was more inveighed against:
infomuch as at the first coming down of the Prince
to *Bristol*, most of the time was spent in complaints
from Sir *John Stawel* of this Garrison, and of the
forcing the Country to work, and contribute to
those Fortifications. After the Lord *Goring's* coming
to *Taunton*, he had, as a compliment to *Bridgewater*,
and to all the Gentlemen, who were grown angry
with my Lord *Hopton*, upon their own fancies,
besides the former unkindnesses he had to Sir *Francis*
Mackworth upon some disputes they had Had in the
North (where they were both General-Officers)
very much neglected, and oppressed that Garrison;
not only by countenancing all complaints against it,
but by taking away all the Contribution assigned for
the support of it, for the supplying his own Army;
and expressly inhibiting him by force to Levy those
Rates, which the Prince himself had assigned to him.
Infomuch as when the Club-men of the County
assembled together in great Numbers, and, having
taken some Officers and Soldiers of that Garrison
Prisoners, for requiring their just Contributions in
Money, or Provisions, came up to the Walls of
Lampton, and discharged their Musquets upon the
Works, and Sir *Francis Mackworth* thereupon with
his Horse Charged them, and killing one or two of
them, forced the rest to run away, the Lord *Goring*

sent him a very strict reprehension for so doing, and positively Commanded him "to do so no more; nor "in any Case to disturb or injure those People." This brought that Garrison so low, that when it might have preserved that Army, it had not two days Provisions in it; Sir *Francis Mackworth*, having been called to wait on the Prince's Person, as well by his own choice (when he saw the carriage towards him, believing that some prejudice to his Person brought a disadvantage to the place) as by Prince *Rupert's* advice; who promised, when he left the Prince at *Barnstable*, and visited *Goring*, and *Bridgewater*, "to settle that Garrison of *Lamport*, and make Colonel *Windham* Governor of it."

Here I cannot but say somewhat of the Club-men; who began then to rise in great Numbers, in several parts of the Country, about the time that the Prince went from *Bath* to *Bridgewater*; in his Journey to *Barnstable*; and that night his Highness lay at *Wells*, which was the second of *June*, a Petition was delivered to him, which had been agreed upon that day at *Marshal's Elme*, where there had then assembled five or six thousand Men, most in Arms; and the Petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at *Bridgewater* for an Answer. It was evident, though the avowed ground for the rising, was the intolerable Oppression, Rapine, and Violence, exercised by the Lord *Goring's* Horse, that, in truth, they received encouragement from many Gentlemen of the Country; some of them thinking, it would be a good Expedient to necessitate a Reformation of the Army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for

Of the Clubs
men in So-
merfet and
Dorsetshire.

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IX.

the King, and would grow into the matter of the first Association, One and All. Therefore some principal Agents of Sir *John Stawel's* were very active in those Meetings; and he himself was very solicitous, that a very gracious Answer might be returned to their Petition; which was followed by some Formerly Men, and others of the Clergy, both which had good Reputation of affection, and integrity to the King's Service. The Prince expressed a great sense of the Oppressions they suffered, by the disorder of the Army, which he promised to do his best to reform; to which end, he writ earnest Letters to the Lord *Goring*. But his Highness told them, "that this unwarrantable course of assembling together, and being their own Judges, would prove very pernicious: for though many of them might mean well, yet some active Ministers would mingle with them, on the behalf of the Rebels, and having once brought them to a kind of Neutrality, and Unconcernedness for the King, would, in a moment, be able, against all their good wishes, to apply them against him; and therefore straitly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except they first listed themselves in Regiments, and chose Gentlemen of the Country to Command them;" to whom his Highness offered to grant Commissions to that purpose.

This Answer seemed to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the Petitioners, until they were persuaded by some Gentlemen not to submit to it; and so they continued their meetings; many inferior Officers of the Army quitting their Charges, and

living amongst them, and improving their discontents. When the Prince went to *Barnstable*, he gave General *Goring* Advertisements * of the great danger “ that might arise out of the licence that People took “ to themselves;” and therefore advised him, “ as on “ the one hand, to suppress and reform the crying “ disorders of the Army by good Discipline, and “ severity upon enormous Transgressors; so on the “ other, seasonably to discountenance, and punish “ those Assemblies of Club-men; which would otherwise, in time, prove as dangerous to him, as any “ other strength of the Rebels.” But, whether it were to show his greatness, and so, Popularly to comply with what the Prince had discountenanced, or whether in truth he believed he should be able to make use of them, and persuade them to become a part of his Army, he did use all possible compliance with them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them. So that they grew to be so powerful, that they kept Provisions from the Army, and the Garrisons; and when he moved from *Taunton*, upon the coming down of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, they killed many of his Soldiers; and did him more mischief, than all the power of the Rebels.

When the Prince came to *Barnstable*, he received the fatal news of the Battle of *Naseby*, by the noise and triumphs which the Rebels made in those parts for their Victory, without any particular information, or account from *Oxford*, or any Credible Persons; which left some hope that it might not be true, at least not to that degree that disaffected People reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concerned

BOOK him the more to be solicitous to put the West into
 IX. such a posture, that it might be able to repair any
 loss the King had received; which he might have
 done, if the Jealousies and Animosities between par-
 ticular Persons could have been reconciled, and a
 Union been made amongst all Men who pretended
 to wish, and really did wish, prosperity to the King's
 Affairs; which were disturbed, and even rendered
 desperate, by the intolerable Pride of incorrigible
 Faction. Notwithstanding the Orders, which had
 been made by the Commissioners of *Devonshire*, for
 distributing the Contributions of that County, which
 have been mentioned before, and in which such a
 proportion was assigned for the maintenance of the
 Forces before *Plymouth*, as in Sir *Richard Greenvil's*
 own judgment was sufficient for them; he had still
 continued to Levy the whole Contribution, which
 he had done formerly, for six thousand Foot, and
 twelve hundred Horse; and said, "he could not
 " submit to the other division and retrenchment; for
 " that there was nothing assigned, or left for the
 " payment of his Men before *Taunton*." He was told
 by the Commissioners, "that they were now a part
 " of the Army, and lived as their fellows did; that
 " they had received no Money from him since their
 " going thither, but had Had free Quarter as the rest
 " of the Army; and that it would prove of ill Con-
 " sequence, and beget a Mutiny, if they should
 " receive a Weekly pay. when none of the rest did,
 " nor any Army the King had in *England*: that he
 " could not but confess, by the State of the whole,
 " that the dispensation was very reasonable; and

“ that it could not be expected that the County
 “ would be contented to pay their Contribution for
 “ the payment of other Forces, not of their own
 “ County, when their own Garrisons, that were
 “ kept for their defence, should be compelled for
 “ want of pay, to disorders, or to disband. But that,
 “ if he thought any thing in those Establishments
 “ unnecessary, or that he thought Provision could
 “ be otherwise made for them, they would be con-
 “ tented that the Overplus should be disposed as he
 “ desired.” He Answered none of their reasons; but
 positively said, “ He would spare none of the Con-
 “ tributions formerly assigned to him;” though the
 Commissioners had the same Authority now to take
 it away, as they had then to dispose it to him; and
 though it appeared to be assigned for the mainte-
 nance of so great a Force, as was before spoken of,
 and upon his undertaking, under his hand, “ to take
 “ the Town before *Christmas-day*.

When this Account was presented to the Prince, he found it necessary, and resolved, to confirm what was proposed by the Commissioners, without which those Garrisons could not be supported; yet deferred the settling thereof, till he came to *Barnstable*, being resolved speedily to go thither; and, before his coming thither, had sent to the Commissioners both of *Devon* and *Cornwal* to attend him; which they did within a day or two after he came thither, together with Sir *John Berkeley*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*. The Commissioners for *Devon* very earnestly pressed the settling the Contributions in the manner before proposed, and the regulating the Exorbitant Power of

Transactions
 at Barnstable:
 especially
 complaints
 against Sir R.
 Greenvil.

B O O K IX. Sir *Richard Greenvil* who raised what Money he pleased, and committed what Persons he pleased; and the Commissioners from *Cornwal* presented a very sharp complaint against him, in the Name of the whole County, for several Exorbitances, and strange Acts of Tyranny exercised upon them: "That he
" had committed very many honest substantial
" Men, and all the Constables of the East-part of
" the County, to *Lydford* Prison in *Devonshire*, for
" no offence, but to compel them to Ransom them-
" selves for Money; and that his Troops had com-
" mitted such outrages in the Country, that they had
" been compelled, in open Sessions, to declare against
" him; and to Authorize the Country, in case that
" he should send his Troops in such manner, to rise,
" and beat them out;" which Declaration was produced, signed by all the Commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously affected to his Majesty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing War against *Greenvil*; and was excused by them "as an
" act of necessity to compose the People, who would
" otherwise in the instant have risen, and cut the
" Throats of all his Men." So that, whoever would have made a judgment, upon what he heard from the Commissioners of *Devon* and *Cornwal* at that time, must have concluded, that Sir *Richard Greenvil* was the most justly odious to both Counties, that can be imagined. And no doubt he had behaved himself with great Pride, and Tyranny over them; though the Discipline he exercised over his Men at *Plymouth*, in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least prejudice to any Man (which,

considering the great assignment of Money he had, and the small Numbers of Men, was no hard matter to do) had raised him much Credit among the Country-People, who had lived long under the Licence of Prince *Maurice's* Army; and the fame of it had extended his Reputation to a greater distance.

There hath been too much said already, to discover the nature and the temper of this Gentleman, if the current of this discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention many particulars, with which the Prince was troubled almost in all places, and which exceedingly disordered the whole business of *Devon* and *Cornwal*; and, indeed, thereby the whole West. There was one particular that made a great noise in the Country: shortly after he was deputed to that Charge before *Plymouth*, upon the hurt of Mr. *Digby*, one *Brabant*, an Attorney at Law (who had heretofore solicited the great Suit against Sir *Richard* in the Star-Chamber, on the behalf of his Wife and the Earl of *Suffolk*, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the King's Service) knowing, it seems, the nature of the Gentleman, resolved not to venture himself within the Precincts where he Commanded; and therefore intended to go to some more secure Quarter; but was taken in his Journey, having a Mountero on his head. Sir *Richard Greenvil* had laid wait to apprehend him; and he likewise had concealed his Name; but, being now brought before Sir *Richard*, was immediately, by his own direction, without any Council of War, because he said he was disguised, hanged as a Spy: Which seemed so

B O O K strange and incredible, that one of the Council asked
 IX. him, "whether it was true? And he answered very
 " unconcernedly, yes, he had hanged him, for he was
 " a Traytor, and against the King; and that he had
 " taken a Brother of his, whom he might have
 " hanged too, but he had suffered him to be ex-
 " changed." He said, "he knew the Country talked,
 " that he hanged him for revenge, because he had
 " solicited a cause against him; but that was not the
 " cause; though having played the Knave with him,"
 he said smiling, "he was well content to find a just
 " occasion to punish him."

The Prince was very unwilling to enter so far, and
 so particularly upon the passionate complaint of
 either County, as thereby to be compelled to censure,
 or to discountenance Sir *Richard Greenvil*; who, he
 thought, might be applied very usefully to the Pub-
 lic Service. Therefore his Highness resolved, accord-
 ing to the former design, to commit the business of
Plymouth to Sir *John Berkeley*; who might, without
 any reproach to the other, discharge such from Im-
 prisonment as had lain long enough there, and who
 made no other pretence to the Contribution, than
 according to the Assignments made by the Commis-
 sioners; and to dispose Sir *Richard Greenvil* to the
 Field, according to his own Proposition; for which
 there was now the more seasonable opportunity. the
 Lord *Goring* having then written to the Prince, "to
 " desire him, that, in regard very many of Sir *Ri-*
 " *chard Greenvil's* Soldiers before *Taunton* were run
 " away, insomuch that of the two thousand two
 " hundred brought thither by him, there were not

“ six hundred left, and that there could be no such
 “ expedient to bring them back, or to encourage the
 “ new Levies, as by his presence in that Army, that
 “ he would send Sir *Richard Greenvil* thither; where
 “ he should Command as Field-Marshal:” To
 which purpose he had likewise written to Sir *Richard*
Greenvil, persuading him, “ that he should fix a
 “ Quarter towards *Lyme*, and have the whole mana-
 “ ging of that Province:” and so a very good cor-
 respondence was begun between them. Thereupon,
 his Commission of Field-Marshal of the Associated
 Army was delivered to him, with direction, “ in the
 “ mean time to abide with the Lord *Goring*,” who
 deputed him to Command in the same place. It is
 true that he then desired, “ to continue the Com-
 “ mand before *Plymouth* in *Commendam*, and to exe-
 “ cute the same by his Major-General; but, he was
 “ told, that it was otherwise settled by his own Pro-
 “ position, and Advice, and therefore that it could
 “ not be altered:” And indeed would have prevent-
 ed the satisfaction, which was to be given to the two
 Counties. Then he insisted very much upon some
 Assignment of Contribution for the Army; for, he
 said, “ he neither would, nor could Command Men
 “ who were not paid.” But after some sharp invectives
 against the excess and laziness of Governors,
 and the needless Contribution assigned to Garrisons,
 finding that the subsistence for the Army must be
 provided out of *Somerset* and *Dorset*, he took his leave
 of the Prince; and with his Commission of Field-
 Marshal, went to the Lord *Goring* before *Taunton*;
 Sir *John Berkeley* being at the same time despatched
 to *Plymouth*.

BOOK

IX.

Sir T. Fairfax
with his Army
enters Somers-
setshire.

Beats Goring
near Lamport.

About the beginning of *July* Sir *Thomas Fairfax* entered into *Somersetshire*; so that General *Goring* found it convenient to draw off from *Taunton*, and seemed to advance towards him, as if he intended to Fight; fixing his Quarters between the Rivers about *Lamport*, very advantageously for defence, having a Body of Horse and Foot very little inferior to the Enemy, although by great negligence he had suffered his Foot to moulder away before *Taunton*, for want of Provisions, and Countenance; when the Horse enjoyed Plenty, even to Excess and Riot. He had been there very few days, when the Enemy, at Noon-day, fell into his Quarters, upon a Party of Horse of above a thousand, Commanded by Lieutenant-General *Porter*; who were so surpris'd, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the Enemy coming down the Hills, half a Mile at the least, yet the Enemy was upon them, before the Men could get upon their Horses; they being then feeding in a Meadow; so that this Body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and the next day, notwithstanding all the Advantages of Passes, and Places of Advantage, another Party of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons fell upon the whole Army; routed it; took two pieces of Cannon; and pursued *Goring's* Men through *Lamport* (a place, which if it had not been with great industry discountenanced, and oppress'd, as is said before, might well have secured his, and resist'd their Army) and drove them to the Walls of *Bridgewater*; whither the Lord *Goring* in great disorder retired; and spending that Night there, and leaving with them the Cannon,

Ammunition, and Carriages, and such Soldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day, he retired into *Devonshire*; the Club-men and Country-People infesting his march, and knocking all Stragglers, or wearied Soldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole Army, the Lord *Goring* retired to *Barnstable*: from whence (the Prince being gone some days before to *Launceston* in *Cornwal*) he writ to the Lord *Digby*; "that there was so great a terror, and distraction among his Men, that he was confident, at that present, they could not be brought to Fight against half their number." In the Letter he writ, "that he had then" (being within three days after their rout, when very many Stragglers were not come up) "between three and four thousand Foot" (Prince *Rupert's* Regiment being left in *Bridgewater*, consisting of above five hundred Men, and two hundred in *Burrow*, and five-and-twenty hundred Horse, besides Sir *Lewis Dives's* Regiment, and all the Western-Horse) so that, by his Account, considering that there were not less than one thousand Men killed, and taken Prisoners, in those two unlucky days, and that very many were run to *Bristol*, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he rose from *Taunton*, he had a strength little inferior to the Enemy.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* then no more pursued them, after this running away, but left them time enough to refresh, and recover themselves; whilst he himself intended the recovery of *Bridgewater*; which was exceedingly wondered at; though it was quickly discerned, he had good reason to stop there. In the

B O O K mean time General *Goring* spent his time at *Barnstable*,
IX. and those parts adjacent; his Army Quartering at *Torrington*, and over the whole North of *Devon*, and his Horse committing such intolerable insolences and disorders, as alienated the hearts of those who were best affected to the King's Service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his Army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the Enemy, he suffered all, who had a mind, to depart; insomuch, as he writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, on the 27th of *July*, "that he had not above thirteen hundred Foot left." When he was at *Barnstable*, he gave himself his usual Licence of drinking; and then, inveighing against the Prince's Council, said, "he would justify that "They had been the cause of the loss of the West;" inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the Person of the King, and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him: and in this manner he entertained himself to the end of *July*, writing Letters of discontent to the Prince, and the Lords; one day complaining for want of Money, and desiring the Prince to supply that want, when he well knew he wanted Supply for his own Table; and never received a penny of the public Collections, or Contributions: Another day, desiring, "that all Straggling Soldiers might be sent out of " *Cornwal*, and drawn from the Garrisons, that he "might advance upon the Enemy;" and the next day proposing, "that all the Foot might be put into "Garrisons, for that they could not be fit for the "Field;" so that before an Answer could be sent to
his

his last Letter, another commonly arrived of a different temper. BOOK
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Sir *Richard Greenvil* grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient, than the Lord *Goring*. He had left the Prince at *Barnstable*, well pleased with his Commission of Field-Marshal, and more that he should Command alone the blocking up of *Lyme*; which, he resolved, should bring him plenty of Money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that, on such a day appointed, “so many Men from the Garrisons of “*Dartmouth*, *Exeter*, and *Barnstable*, should be drawn “to *Tiverton*; where they should receive Orders “from Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and join with such as “he should bring from the Lord *Goring*, for making “a Quarter towards *Lyme*; and Orders issued from “his Highness accordingly.” Those from *Exeter*, according to order, appeared, at the time; and those from *Barnstable* and *Dartmouth*, marched a day’s Journey and more, towards *Tiverton*; but then, hearing that the Lord *Goring* was risen from *Taunton*, made a halt; and sent back to the Prince for Orders; who conceived that, upon the rising of the Lord *Goring*, the design of fixing a Quarter upon *Lyme*, would be disappointed, and that it would be necessary to strengthen *Barnstable*; where his own Person was; and recalled those Men back thither; having despatched Letters to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from *Dartmouth* and *Barnstable*; but letting him know, “that, “if the design held, those of *Barnstable* should meet, “where and when he would appoint.”

Sir *Richard Greenvil* took an occasion, from the

B O O K IX. Soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at *Tiverton* (though if they had met, there could have been no progress in the former design) to exclaim against the Prince's Council; and, the next day, in a Cover directed to Mr. *Fanshawe*, who was Secretary of the Council, without any Letter, returned the Commission of Field-Marshal, formerly given him by the Prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of *July*, he sent a very insolent Letter to the Lords of the Council, complaining of "many underserved abuses offered to him;" implying, "that the same were fastened on him by Them, on the behalf of Sir *John Berkeley*; told them, that when they moved him to give over the Command of the Forces before *Plymouth* to Sir *John Berkeley*, they had promised him the Principal Command of the Army under the Prince:" whereas the truth is before set down, that the Proposition was made by Himself, both of quitting that Charge, and of Sir *John Berkeley's* taking it, as the only fit Person. He said, "he had hitherto served the King upon his own Charge, and upon his own Estate, without any allowance; and that, when he went from *Barnstable*, he was promised a Protection for his House and Estate; but when, after he was gone, his Servant brought a Protection ready drawn, all the Clauses that comprehended any thing of favor, were left out; and such a Protection sent to him as he cared not for." He concluded, "that he would serve as a Volunteer, till he might have opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with his Sufferings." Here it will be necessary, upon the mention

of this Protection (which he took so ill to be denied) and the mention of Serving the King, without allowance, upon his own Estate, which he very often, and very insolently objected both in his Letters, and in his discourse to the Prince himself, to say somewhat of his Estate, and what small allowance, as he pretended, he had from the King for his Service.

When he came first into that Country, he had no Command at all; armed only with a Commission to raise a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot; of which, he never raised Horse or Man, till long after, that he came to the Command about *Plymouth*. Estate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any were else. It is true, his Wife had an Estate, of about five hundred Pounds a year, about *Tavistock* and other parts of *Devon*; but it is as true, that it was Conveyed before Marriage, as hath been said, in such a manner, to Friends in trust, that upon long Suits in Chancery, and in other Courts, in the time of Peace, there were several Judgments and Decrees in Chancery against him. So that he had never, since the difference with his Wife, which was many years before, received the least benefit, or advantage from it. The first thing the King granted to him, was the Sequestration of all his Wife's Estate to his own use (she living then in the Rebels Quarters) upon which Title he settled himself in her House near *Tavistock*; and, by virtue of that Grant, took all the Stock upon the Ground; and compelled the Tenants to pay to him all the Arrears of Rent, or as much as he said was in Arrear; which amounted to a very considerable value. When Colonel *Digby* received

B O O K his unfortunate hurt, which rendered him for that
IX. time incapable to exercise his Command, Sir *John Berkeley* very earnestly, and He only, moved Prince *Maurice*, to confer that Charge upon Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and, though it was within a County of which he himself had the principal Charge as Colonel-General, procured a full Commission for the other to Command those Forces in Chief; and delivered, or sent the same to him; having, from the time of his first coming down, used him with much kindness. He had not then Commanded long, when the Earl of *Essex* came into those Parts; whereupon he was compelled to rise; and after joined with the King.

When the Earl of *Essex*'s Forces were dissolved, he was again designed for that Service; and before the King left the Country, he granted him the Sequestration of all the Estate of the Earl of *Bedford* in *Devonshire*, all the Estate of Sir *Francis Drake* (by which he had *Buckland Monachorum*, which was his Quarter whilst he blocked up *Plymouth*; and *Wor-rington* by *Launceston*) in *Devon*, and the Lord *Roberts* his Estate in *Cornwal*; all which, and his Wife's Estate, he enjoyed by the Sequestration granted from his Majesty, and of which he made a greater Revenue than ever the owners did in time of Peace. For, besides that he suffered no part of these Estates to pay Contribution (whereby the Tenants very willingly paid their full Rents) he kept very much ground, about all the Houses, in his own hands; which he stocked with such Cattle as he took from Delinquents; for though he suffered not his Soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himself the greatest

plunderer of this War; for whenever any Person had disobeyed, or neglected any of his Warrants, or when any Man failed to appear at the *Posse* (which he summoned very frequently after he was Sheriff of *Devon*, and for no other end but the penalty of Defaulters) he sent presently a Party of Horse to apprehend their Persons, and to drive their Grounds. If the Persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their Stock to redeem their Persons. For the better disposing them thereto, he would now and then hang a Constable, or some other poor fellow, for those faults of which a hundred were as guilty: and if, out of the terror of this kind of Justice, Men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their Stock; which was from thence quietly enjoyed: so that he had a greater Stock of Cattle, of all sorts, upon his Grounds, than any person whatsoever in the West of *England*. Besides this, the ordering of Delinquents Estates in those Parts being before that time not well looked to, by virtue of these Sequestrations, he seized upon all the Stock upon the Grounds, upon all the Furniture in the several Houses, and compelled the Tenants to pay to him all the Rents due from the beginning of the Rebellion. By these, and such like means, he had not only a vast Stock, but received great Sums of Money, and had as great store of good Household-Stuff, as would Furnish well those Houses he looked upon as his own. This was his own Estate, upon which, he said, he had maintained himself, without any allowance from the King; which, I am confident, besides what he got by his Contributions, which would

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B O O K IX. always pay double the Men he had, and were strictly levied, and by his other Arts, and Extortions of several kinds, was more, and more worth in Money to him, than his Majesty bestowed upon all his General-Commanders of Armies, and upon all his Officers of State, since the beginning of the Rebellion to that time. This computation would seem too enviously made, if I should proceed here to take any view of the Services he ever did; and therefore (though they that are very good Witnesses, say, that notwithstanding all the bold promises of taking *Plymouth* within few days, "his farther Guards were never nearer the " Town, than the Lord *Hopton's* head-Quarter was " the first day that he came thither)" I shall leave that to other Men to make the particular Estimate.

Now when Sir *Richard Greenvil* desired at *Barnstable* a Protection for his Houses and Estates, it was conceived, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of Claim, some attempt be made upon his Stock by the Owners; or that he feared, that there might be too strict an inquiry, by him that succeeded, for such things as being designed for the Public Service, had been applied to his particular private Use; as having, with great importunity (as a thing upon which the Service depended) gotten from the Commissioners of *Devon* above a thousand Deal-boards, to make huts for the Soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding-House at *Buckland*, for his own Pleasure. However, so severe and terrible a Person might easily be thought liable to many trespasses, when he should be removed from the place where he Governed so absolutely. The Protection

was no sooner asked by him, than promised by the Prince; but, after his departure, his Servant bringing such a Protection drawn, as exempted all those Estates which the King had Granted to him in Sequestration, from the payment of any Contributions (the which had been already so scandalous, that most of the principal Persons of *Cornwal* had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborn to pay their Rates; and he was told the ill consequence of it; and, “that
“ no Person there in Council, whereof some had
“ Had very much greater Commands in Armies than
“ He, and though others thought their Services
“ deserved any reasonable Privilege, had been ever
“ freed from Contribution)” thereupon those clauses were struck out, and the Protection in a fuller manner still than ordinary, signed by the Prince; and Sir *John Berkeley*, then present, declared (of which his Servant was advertised, though it was not fit, for the Example, to put it in writing) “that he would
“ not require any Contribution for that Estate which
“ was his Wife’s, and enjoyed by him only by virtue
“ of the Sequestration;” and the denying of this Protection was his great grievance. And yet he did not only never pay a penny Contribution before, or after, for all these Estates, but refused to pay the Fee-farm Rent, due to the King out of the Earl of *Bedford*’s Estate, being two hundred Marks *per annum*, though the Auditor was sent to him to demand it; but this was merely an Act of his own Sovereignty.

After this angry Letter to the Lords, and the throwing up his Commission without a Letter, and so having no Commission at all to meddle in Martial

BOOK IX. Affairs, he fixed a Quarter, with his own Horfe and Foot, at *St. Mary Otree*, within nine or ten Miles of *Exeter*; where he governed as imperiously as ever; raised what Money he would, and imprifoned what Perfons he pleased. In the end, Sir *John Berkeley*, having appointed the Conftables of thofe Hundreds which were affigned for *Plymouth*, to bring in their Accounts of what Money they had paid to Sir *Richard Greenvil* (which, he protested, he did only that thereby he might ftate the Arrears, without the leaft thought of reproach to the other) he caufed a Warrant to be read in all Churches in the County (that is, ordered it to be read in all, and in fome it was read) "that all Perfons fhould bring him an Account of what Monies, or Goods had been plundered from them by Sir *John Berkeley*, or any under him;" with feveral Claufes very derogatory to his Reputation. This, as it could not otherwife, begot great resentments; infomuch as the Commiffioners of *Devon* fent an Exprefs to the Prince, who was then in *Cornwal*, befeeching him "to call Sir *Richard Greenvil* from thence, and to take fome Order for the fuppreffing the Furious inclinations of both fides, or elfe they apprehended, the Enemy would quickly take an advantage of thofe Diffenfions, and Invade the Country before they otherwife intended;" and, in their Letter, fent one of the Warrants that Sir *Richard* had caufed to be read in the Churches; which indeed was the ftrangeft I ever faw.

Hereupon, the Prince fent for Sir *Richard Greenvil* to attend him; who accordingly came to him at

Liskard; where his Highness told him “the sense he
 “ had of his disrespect towards him, in the sending
 “ back his Commission in that manner; and of his
 “ carriage after;” and asked him, “what Authority
 “ he now had either to Command Men, or to pub-
 “ lish such Warrants?” He answered, “that he
 “ was High-Sheriff of *Devon*, and by virtue of that
 “ Office he might suppress any Force, or inquire
 “ into any grievance his County suffered; and, as
 “ far as in Him lay, give them remedy.” He was told,
 “ as Sheriff he had no power to raise or head Men,
 “ otherwise than by the *Posse-Comitatus*; which he
 “ could not neither upon his own head raise, with-
 “ out Warrant from the Justices of Peace: that, in
 “ times of War, he was to receive Orders, upon
 “ occasions, from the Commander in Chief of the
 “ King’s Forces; who had Authority to Command
 “ him by his Commission.” He was asked, “what
 “ he himself would have done, if when he comman-
 “ ded before *Plymouth*, the High-Sheriff of *Cornwall*
 “ should have caused such a Warrant concerning
 “ Him to be read in Churches?” He answered little
 to the Questions, but sullenly extolled his Services,
 and enlarged his Sufferings. Afterwards, being repre-
 hended with more Sharpness than ever before, and
 being told, “that, whatever discourses he made of
 “ spending his Estate, it was well understood, that
 “ he had no Estate by any other Title than the mere
 “ bounty of the King; that he had been courted by
 “ the Prince more than he had reason to expect;
 “ and that he had not made those returns on His
 “ part which became him; In short, if he had Incl-

B O O K “ nation to serve his Highness, he should do it in
IX. “ that manner he should be directed; if Not, he
“ should not, under the Title of being Sheriff, satisfy
“ his own Pride, and Passion” (Upon which reprehension being become much gentler, than upon all the gracious Addresses which had been made to him) he Answered, “ he would serve the Prince in such
“ manner, as he should Command; ” and thereupon he was discharged, and returned to his House to *Worrington*, one of those places he had by Sequestration (It belonged to Sir *Francis Drake*) where he lived privately, for the space of a Fortnight, or thereabouts, without interposing in the Public business. Let us now see how this Tragedy was acted in other places.

We left the King at *Hereford*, not resolved what course to steer; Prince *Rupert* gone to *Bristol*, from whence he had made a short visit to the Prince at *Barnstable*, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the King in, and from thence went to *Goring* to consult with Him: and it was exceedingly wondered at, that when he saw in what condition he was (for he was then before *Tauntón*) and the Number of his Horse and Foot (which every body then thought had been his business to be informed of) he did not then hasten advice to the King, for his speedy repair thither; but his chief care was to secure *Bristol*; which, sure, at that time he made not the least question of doing; and believed the Winter would come seasonably for future Counsels.

The King quickly left *Hereford*. and went to meet the Commissioners for South *Wales* at *Abergavenny*,

The King
goes to A-
bergavenny

the Chief-Town in *Monmouthshire*. As they were for the most part Persons of the best Quality, and the largest Fortunes of those Counties, so they had manifested great Loyalty and Affection, from the beginning of the War, by sending many good Regiments to the Army, and with their Sons, and Brothers, and nearest Kindred; many of whom had lost their lives Bravely in the Field: They now made as large and ample Professions as ever, and seemed to believe, that they should be able, in a very short time, to raise a good Army of Foot, with which the King might again look upon the Enemy; and accordingly agreed what Numbers should be levied upon each of the Counties. From thence his Majesty went to *Ragland-Castle*, the Noble House of the Marquis of *Worcester*; which was well Fortified, and Garrisoned by him; who remained then in it. There he resolved to stay, till he should see the effect of the Commissioners mighty promises. But he found in a short time, that, either by the continued successes of the Parliament-Armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by Intelligence from their Friends, or the Triumphs of their Enemies in *Monmouth* and *Glocester*, or by the renewed troubles, which the presence of their Governor, General *Gerrard*, gave them (who had been, and continued to be, a passionate and unskilful manager of the affections of the People; as having governed them with extraordinary rigor, and with as little courtesy and civility towards the Gentry, as towards the Common-People) there was little probability of raising an Army in those

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to meet the
Commission-
ers of South
Wales.Thence to
*Ragland-
Castle*.

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parts: where all Men grew less affected, or more frightened, which produced one and the same effect. The King stayed at *Rugland*, till the News came "that *Fairfax*," after he had taken *Leicester* (which could not hold out longer than to make honorable conditions) "was marched into the West, and had "defeated *Goring's* Troops at *Lamport*; and at the "same time, that the *Scottish* Army was upon its "march towards *Worcester*, having taken a little "Garrison that lay between *Hereford* and *Worcester* "by Storm; and put all within it to the Sword." And Prince *Rupert* sent for all those Foot which were levied towards a new Army, and part of those which belonged to General *Gerrard*, to supply the Garrison of *Bristol*: so that his Majesty seemed now to have nothing in his Choice, but to transport himself over the *Severn* to *Bristol*, and thence to have repaired to his Army in the West; which would have been much better done Before, yet had been well done Then; and the King resolved to do so; and that the Horse under *Gerrard*, and *Langdale*, should find a Transportation over the *Severn* (which might have been done) and then find the way to him, wherever he should be.

Thence to
Chepstow:

This was so fully resolved, that his Majesty went to the Water-side near *Chepstow*; where Vessels were ready to Transport him, and where Prince *Rupert* from *Bristol* met him, very well pleased with the Resolution he had taken, though he had not been Privy to the Counsel. Here again the unhappy discord in the Court, raised new obstructions; they who did not love Prince *Rupert*, nor were loved by him,

could not endure to think that the King should be so wholly within his power; and he himself was far from being importunate that his Majesty should prosecute his purpose, which he had not advised, though he liked it well enough; and so would not be answerable for any success. His Majesty himself being too irresolute, the Counsel was again changed, and the King marched to *Cardiff*; where he had been very little time, when he was informed, that *Bridge-water* was lost: and then they, who had dissuaded the King's Embarcation for *Bristol*, were much exalted, and thought themselves good Counsellors; though, in truth, the former resolution had been even Then much better pursued; for nothing could have hindered his Majesty from going to *Exeter*, and joining all his Forces; which would have put him in a posture much better than he was ever afterwards. Indeed the taking *Bridgewater*, which the King had been persuaded to believe a place impregnable, could not but make great impressions upon him, to think that he was betrayed, and consequently not to know whom to trust. It was in truth matter of amazement to all Men, nor was it any excuse, that it was not of strength enough against so strong an Army; for it was so strongly Situated, and it might well have had all those additions which were necessary, by Fortifications, that it was inexcusable in a Governor (who had enjoyed that Charge above three years, with all allowances he had himself desired, and had often assured the King, "that it was not to be Taken") that it did not resist any the greatest strength that could come before it for one Week; and within less

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Thence to
Cardiff.Sir T Fair-
fax takes
Bridgewater.

B O O K than that time, it was Surrendered, and put into
IX. *Fairfax's* hand.

That this prodigious success on the Enemies side, should break the Spirits of most Men, and even cast them into despair, is not at all to be wondered at; but that it should raise the hopes of any that it would produce a Peace, is very strange; yet this imagination did so much harm, that Men generally neglected to make that preparation against a powerful and insulting Enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a Treaty would now prevail, and produce a Peace; and every Man abounded so much in his own sense on this point, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The Commissioners of all Counties, which were the best Gentlemen, and of best Affections, upon whom the King depended to apply the Common-People to his Service, were so tully of this opinion, that they made Cabals with the principal Officers of the Army, to concur with them in this judgment, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much ashamed of not having done it, that they professed themselves to desire it, at least as much as the rest. This temper spread itself so universally, that it reached to Prince *Rupert* himself; who writ his Advice to that purpose to the Duke of *Richmond*, to be presented to the King; who took that occasion, to write the ensuing Letter to the Prince, with his own hand; which was so lively an expression of his own Soul, that no Pen else could have written it and deserves to be

transmitted to Posterity, as a part of the Portraiture of that excellent Person, which hath been disguised by false, or erroneous Copies from the true Original; and follows in these words.

From Cardiff, in the beginning of the Month of Aug. 1645.
Nephew,

B O O K
1X.
The King's
Letter to
Prince Rupert
against Treat-
ing of Peace
at that time.

“ This is occasioned by a Letter of yours, that
“ the Duke of *Richmond* showed me yesternight.
“ And first, I assure you, I have been, and ever will
“ be, very careful to advertise you of my resolutions,
“ as soon as they are taken; and if I enjoined silence
“ to that which was no secret, it was not my fault;
“ for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have
“ been so now. As for the opinion of my business,
“ and your Counsel thereupon, if I had any other
“ Quarrel but the defence of my Religion, Crown,
“ and Friends, you had full reason for your advice.
“ For I confess, that speaking either as to mere
“ Soldier, or Statesman, I must say, there is no
“ probability but of my ruin; but as to Christian, I
“ must tell you, that God will not suffer Rebels to
“ prosper, or His Cause to be overthrown: and
“ whatsoever Personal punishment it shall please him
“ to inflict upon me, must not make me repine,
“ much less to give over this Quarrel; which, by
“ the Grace of God, I am resolved against, what-
“ soever it cost me; for I know my obligations to
“ be both in Conscience, and Honor, neither to
“ abandon God's Cause, injure my Successors, nor
“ forsake my Friends. Indeed I cannot flatter myself
“ with expectation of good success, more than this,

BOOK IX. “ to end my days with Honor, and a good Con-
 “ science; which obliges me to continue my en-
 “ deavour, as not despairing that God may in due
 “ time avenge his own Cause. Though I must avow
 “ to all my Friends, that he that will stay with me
 “ at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to
 “ die for a good Cause, or, which is worse, to
 “ live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the vio-
 “ lence of insulting Rebels can make him. Having
 “ thus truly and impartially stated my Case unto you,
 “ and plainly told you my positive resolutions,
 “ which, by the Grace of God, I will not alter,
 “ they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded,
 “ I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken
 “ after Treaties; assuring you, as low as I am, I
 “ will not go less than what was offered in my Name
 “ at *Uxbridge*; confessing that it were as great a
 “ Miracle that they should agree to so much reason,
 “ as that I should be, within a Month, in the same
 “ Condition that I was immediately before the Battle
 “ of *Naseby*. Therefore, for God’s sake, let us not
 “ flatter ourselves with these Conceits; and, believe
 “ me, the very imagination that you are desirous of
 “ a Treaty, will lose me so much the sooner. Where-
 “ fore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already
 “ done, apply your discourse according to my reso-
 “ lutions, and judgment. As for the *Irish*, I assure
 “ you they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they
 “ may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I
 “ have refused to the *English*, I will not grant to the
 “ *Irish* Rebels, never trusting to that kind of People
 “ (of what Nature soever) more than I see by their
 Actions

“ Actions; and I am sending to *Ormond* such a des-
 “ patch, as I am sure will please You, and all honest
 “ Men; a Copy whereof, by the next opportunity,
 “ you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not
 “ have put you, nor myself, to the trouble of this
 “ Letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a
 “ full confidence of your Friendship to”

Your, &c.

When the King came to *Cardiff*, he was entertained with the News, “that the *Scottish* Army was set
 “ down before *Hereford*, and that, if it were not
 “ relieved within a Month, it must fall into their
 “ hands.” To provide for this, there could be no
 better way found out, than to direct the Sheriffs of
 those *Welsh* Counties to Summon their *posse-Comitatus*,
 whereby the King was persuaded to hope, that there
 would be Men enough to wait upon him in that ex-
 pedition; who with the Horse he had, would have
 been equal to any attempt they could make upon the
Scots. But it was quickly discovered, that this Ex-
 pedient had raised an unruly Spirit, that could not
 easily be suppressed again; for the discontented Gen-
 tlemen of those Counties, now they had gotten the
 People legally together, put them in mind of “the
 “ Injuries they had received from General *Gerrard*,
 “ and the intolerable exactions they lay under, which
 “ would undoubtedly be increased, if he continued
 “ in that Government.” So that, instead of providing
 Men to march with the King, they provided a long
 list of grievances; from all which they desired to be
 relieved before they would apply themselves towards
 the relief of *Hereford*. All this was so sturdily urged,

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that a Body of no less than four thousand Men, of those who were thus called together, continued together many days, and would not be separated, till the King was even compelled to give them satisfaction in the particular they most insisted upon; which was the removal of General *Gerrard* from having any Command over them; and that Charge was presently conferred upon the Lord *Astley*, the Major-General of the Army; who was most acceptable to them; and they afterwards conformed themselves as much to his directions, as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill Successes, could be expected by him.

But it was the hard fate of the King, that he could not provide what was fit for his own Service, except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other Men's Humors and Appetites. *Gerrard* had now, upon the matter, the Command of all the Forces the King had to trust to in those Parts; and he was of too impetuous a Nature, to submit to any thing for Conscience, or Discretion, or Duty; so that the King was compelled to satisfy his Ambition for this present degradation, by making him a Baron; and which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attended it, for no other reason, than because there was once an Eminent Person, called *Charles Brandon*, who was afterwards made a Duke, he would be Created Baron of *Brandon*, that there might be another *Charles Brandon*, who had no less aspiring thoughts than the former; when he had no pretence to the Lands of *Brandon*; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the possession of a Gallant and

Worthy Gentleman Sir *Thomas Glemham*; who at the same time (very unluckily upon that account) came to the King at *Cardiff*, with about two hundred Foot, which he had brought with him out of the Garrison of *Carlisle*; which place he had defended for the space of eleven Months against *David Lesley*, and till all the Horses of the Garrison were eaten, and then had rendered, upon as honorable Conditions, as had been given upon any Surrender; *David Lesley* himself conveyed him to *Hereford*; where he joined with the other part of that Army, and from thence Sir *Thomas Glemham* (who was by his Conditions to march to the King wherever he was) came to his Majesty at *Cardiff*, at the time when the Title of his own Land, which came to him by Inheritance, was conferred upon a Gentleman of another Family: who, how well extracted soever, was of less Fortune, and, as many thought, of no greater Quality, or Merit. This unseasonable Preferment more irritated the Country, from which the King then expected Assistance, that when they believed they had accused him of Crimes which deserved the highest Censure, they saw him pretend to, and rewarded in, a higher degree than he could ever probably have arrived to, but for that Accusation. Here the King, after all his endeavours were rendered fruitless, entertained a new imagination, that he might get into *Scotland* to the Marquis of *Mountrose*, who had done wonders there; and thereupon left *Cardiff*; and, over the Mountains of *Brecknock*, and *Kadnor*, passed the *Scottish* Quarters, and came to *Ludlow*, before that Army had any notice of his march.

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When the King came first to *Ragland*, he had sent an Express to the Prince, by which he wished "that the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, attend his Majesty." The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the Messenger came not quickly to his Highness. The Chancellor being then unfit to Travel by reason of the Gout, the Lord *Colepepper* made all possible haste out of *Cornwal*, where the Prince then was, and found his Majesty at *Cardiff*, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to *Brecknock*; from whence he was again despatched with this Letter, to the Prince; which, being the first direction the King gave of that Nature, is necessary to be here inserted in so many words.

Brecknock 5th August 1645.

Charles,

The King's
Letter to the
Prince of
Wales from
Brecknock.

"It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst,
"in order to which I spoke with *Colepepper* this
"Morning concerning you; judging it fit to give
"it you under my hand, that you may give the
"readier Obedience to it. Wherefore know that my
"Pleasure is, whensoever you find yourself in ap-
"parent danger of falling into the Rebels hands, that
"you convey yourself into *France*, and there to be
"under your Mother's care; who is to have the
"absolute full Power of your Education in all things,
"except Religion; and in That, not to meddle at
"all, but leave it entirely to the care of your Tutor,
"the Bishop of *Salisbury* or to whom he shall appoint

“ to supply his place, in time of his necessitated ab- BOOK
 “ sence. And for the performance of this, I Com- IX.
 “ mand you to require the Assistance and Obe-
 “ dience of all your Council ; and, by their Advice,
 “ the service of every one whom You and They
 “ shall think fit to be employed in this business ;
 “ which I expect should be performed , if need re-
 “ quire, with all Obedience, and without grumbling :
 “ This being all at this time, from

Your loving Father, *Charles R.*

After the Lord *Goring* had lain some time in the ill humor we left him at *Barnstable*, he entered into correspondence with Sir *Richard Greenville* ; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the Council about the Prince as Himself ; and finding that the Enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the Army was employed upon other important Service, They two met privately ; and, upon the Encouragement and Money he received from *Greenville*, he writ to the Chancellor a very cheerful, and a very long Letter, bearing date first of *August*, in which he inserted several Propositions ; which, he said, had been framed “ upon conference with Sir *Richard Greenville* ;
 “ which he desired might be presented to the Prince ;
 “ and if they should be consented to, and confirmed
 “ by his Highness, he said, he would engage his
 “ life, that he would in a very short time have an
 “ Army of ten or twelve thousand Men, that should
 “ march wheresoever they should be commanded ;
 “ and should be in as good order, as any Army in
 “ the World : ” and concluded his Letter with these

The Lord
 Goring makes
 Propositions
 to the Prince.

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“ words; “ I see some light now of having a brave
 “ Army very speedily on Foot, and I am sending
 “ a Copy of this inclosed Letter to the King with
 “ this profession, that I will be content to lose my
 “ Life, and my Honor, if we do not perform our
 “ parts, if these demands be granted.

Which the
 Prince
 granted.

This Letter being presented to his Highness, then at *Launceston*, found so gracious a reception, that the next day, being the second of *August*, the Prince returned him an Answer of full consent; and the same day Signed all the particulars proposed by him; expressing a further resolution “ to add whatever else “ should be proposed to him, and within his Power “ to grant;” so that there was once more a hope of looking the Enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the West. The next day, or thereabouts, Sir *Richard Greenville* himself attended the Prince, in a seeming good humor; all the Propositions were immediately confirmed; some of which were, “ that Sir “ *Richard Greenville* should receive such a proportion “ of the Contributions of *Cornwal*, and five thousand “ pounds of the Arrears. for the payment of the Officers of the Army; and thereupon Sir *Richard* “ would gather up all the Stragglers, who were returned into *Cornwal* from their Colors; who, “ he said, would amount to three thousand Foot, “ and he would raise three thousand Foot more in “ *Devonshire*.” So he betook himself again to Action, sending out his Warrants, and Levying Men and Money; having lent two hundred pounds to the Lord *Goring* at their first meeting, and calling the *peers* of *Devon* to meet at several places, where himself was still present, by which, he pretended, he should

speedily recruit the Army. But before the end of *August*, that Friendship grew colder; Sir *Richard* observing a better correspondence between the Lord *Goring*, and Sir *John Berkeley*, than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the Lord *Goring* used to mention him very slightly (which was true) he writ a very sharp Letter to him, in which he said, "he would have no more to do with him." However he continued as Active as before, being now in *Devon*, and then in *Cornwal*, where he Commanded absolutely without any Commission, and very seasonably Suppressed an Insurrection about *St. Ives*, which might else have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order without any Council of War; and raised what Money he pleased upon others; then returned to his House at *Worrington*. All the Vivacity that had so lately appeared in the Lord *Goring*, upon the news of the loss of *Sherborne*, declined; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of Money, and a Proposition to put the Army into Garrisons; although the Enemy gave them the same leisure, to pursue the former design, *Fairfax* being then engaged with his Army before *Bristol*.

As soon as the Prince, who was then at *Launceston*, had read the Letter, which the Lord *Colepepper* brought to him from the King, he returned it to the Lord *Colepepper* to keep, and to Communicate it to the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it was a misfortune, that there was not so good Correspondence with the Earl of *Berk-*

BOOK IX. *shire* (through some jealousies that were infused into him) as might have been wished; and from the Prince's first coming into *Cornwal*, some of his Servants of the best Quality, who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the Council, and, since the King's misfortune at *Naseby*, expressed their indispositions with more Licence, and whispered abroad "that there was a purpose of carrying the Prince into *France*, not that they believed it," but thereby thought to render the Council odious and suspected, had wrought so far upon the Earl of *Berkshire*, that He seemed to believe it too, whereby they got so much interest in him, that he always Communicated whatsoever passed in Council to them; so that a Letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be communicated to him, nor to the Earl of *Brentford*, who (though he was very kind, and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of Secrets. They were very much troubled at the sight of the Letter, not at the Command of leaving the Kingdom, for, though they had never Communicated their thoughts to each other upon that Subject before, they found themselves unanimous in the Resolution, "that rather than he should be taken by the Rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Christian World." For the better doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a Ship ready in the Harbour of *Falmouth*. But it troubled them, "that the King's Command was so positive for *France*, against which they could

“ make to themselves many Objections ” Besides BOOK
IX.
 that, one of the Prince’s Chamber, who was newly
 returned from *Paris*, brought a Letter from the Earl
 of *Norwich*, then the King’s Ambassador there, to one
 of the Council; in which taking notice of a report
 there of the Prince of *Wales*’s coming thither, he
 passionately declared against it, “ as a certain Ruin
 “ to the Prince; ” of which the Messenger, by His
 direction, gave many instances of moment. And they
 were the more troubled, because the Lord *Colepepper*,
 who brought that Letter from the King, averred,
 “ that he had Had no conference with the King
 “ upon the Argument, but had wholly declined it,
 “ as a matter too great for him: ” so that they had
 nothing before them but that Letter. After two or
 three sad Debates between themselves, they agreed
 upon “ a Letter to be prepared in Cipher, presenting
 “ their reasons, and what they had been informed
 “ concerning *France*; and therefore offered it to his
 “ Majesty, whether he would not leave the choice
 “ of the place to them, or nominate some other,
 “ against which so many exceptions might not be
 “ made; and proposed *Ireland* (if the Peace were
 “ made there) or *Scotland*, if the Marquis of *Mount-*
 “ *rose* was as Victorious as he was reported to be;
 “ withal assuring his Majesty, that in case of danger,
 “ they would run any hazard, or into any Country,
 “ before the Prince should fall into the hands of the
 “ Rebels.” This Letter after it was Communicated
 with the Prince, as the Debates had been, was forth-
 with sent by an Express.

Towards the end of *August*, the Lord *Goring*, after

B O O K he had, in all his secret discourses, and in the hours
 IX. of his jollity, spoken very bitterly of the Council about the Prince, as the Authors of all the Miscarriages, sent the Lord *Wentworth* to *Lauceston* to his Highness, with certain demands, as he called them on his behalf; but with direction, "that before he presented them to the Prince, he should Communicate them to the Lord *Colepepper*, or to the Chancellor, and be advised by them, in what manner to present them."

His Demands were, and so he styled them (1) To have a Commission to be Lieutenant-General of all the West, and to Command immediately under the Prince, Garrisons as well as the Army, and to be sworn of the Council as soon as might be. (2) That all Commissions to Officers of the Army, when his Highness is present, be given by the Prince; but that his Highness should Sign none but such as he should prepare for him. (3) That in the Prince's absence he should Sign, and grant all Commissions; and that, if any Governments of Towns should fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation of those that are to succeed, or, at least, a Negative Voice. (4) That all designs of Consequence should be debated, in the Prince's presence, by the Prince's Council, and such Officers of the Army as he should chuse to assist at it. (5) That the Number of the Prince's Guards should be limited; and many other particulars, which seemed so unreasonable, and unfit to be publicly urged, that the Lord *Colepepper* persuaded the Lord *Wentworth*, to suspend the presenting them; "the rather (as he said) because the Chan-

“ cellor was then absent” (being sent by his Highness to *Pendennis-Castle*, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the Customs, but, in truth, to take care that the Frigate provided for the Prince’s Transportation might be in readiness, and Victuals be privately made ready, to be presently put on Board, when the occasion should require) “ and likewise because his Highness intended to be shortly at *Exeter*, where the Lord *Goring*, being present, might better consider, and debate his own business;” to the which the Lord *Wentworth* consented.

For the Commissioners of *Devon* had besought his Highness to interpose his Authority, in the regulating and disposing the Army to march towards the relief of *Bristol*; declaring, “ as the posture of it then was, that both that County, and Garrisons, must in a short time be as much undone, and lost by Them, as by the Invasion of the Enemy; that all the Foot subsisted by, and lived upon, the Magazines of the Garrisons; and the Horse possessed the other part of the Country to themselves; and would neither suffer provisions to be brought to the Markets, for the replenishing their Stores, nor Warrants to be executed for any payments; pretending they were to defend their own Quarters; whilst themselves levied what Monies they pleased, and committed all sorts of insolencies and outrages.”

By this means both before in *Somersetshire*, and afterwards in *Devonshire*, when the King’s Army was forced to retire, the Enemy found great plenty of Provisions in those Quarters, where His Forces had been in danger of starving: as, all about *Taunton*,

B O O K there were very great quantities of Corn, when the
IX. King's Forces had caused all their Bread to be brought out of the Stores of *Bridgewater*, and *Exeter*; which proceeded partly from the negligence, and laziness of the Officers and Soldiers, who would not be at the trouble of threshing out the Mows, and Ricks, which were there; but principally by the Protection given by the Horse; who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their Quarters; and such as sent their Provisions to Market, were sure to have their Money taken from them in their return. Infomuch as it was affirmed by the Commissioners of *Exeter*, "that before the Enemy had any Quarter
 " within ten miles, there was not so much provision
 " brought into that City in a Fortnight, as they
 " spent in a day:" which was only by reason of the disorder of our own Horse, General *Goring* being all this time in *Exeter*, breaking Jests, and Laughing at all People, who brought complaints to him; as one day, when the Fishermen complained to him, "that as they came to the Market, they were robbed by his Troopers, who took all their Fish from them," he said, "that they might by this see what great Injury was done to his Men, by those who accused them of great Swearing; for if they did Swear, you know (said he) they could catch no Fish."

Upon these reasons, and the very earnest desire of the Lord *Goring*, and the Commissioners, the Prince, on *Friday* the 29th of *August*, went from *Launceston* to *Exeter* in one day; leaving Sir *Richard Greenville* (who then seemed to be in good humor) to bring

up the Soldiers in *Cornwal*, and to hasten his Levies in the North and West-parts of *Devon*. The Army having now lain still from the beginning of *July* to the end of *August*, without the least Action, or Alarm from the Enemy, and so being sufficiently refreshed, and, as their Officers said, awakened to a sense and a shame of their former amazements, it was unanimously agreed at a Council of War, his Highness being present, "that the Foot should presently advance to *Tiverton*; and the Horse to the East of *Exeter*; and that, as soon as Sir *Richard Greenvil* could come up with his Men, they should all advance to the relief of *Bristol*;" which was understood to be in a very good condition; the last Messenger that came thence, assuring the Prince, as from Prince *Rupert*, that he was sufficiently provided with all Necessaries for six Months.

There had been, from the time of the first going of the Prince into *Cornwal*, several rumors dispersed, as hath been said, by those who were discontented or angry with the Council, "that there was an intent to carry the Prince into *France*; which begot infinite prejudice to all that was advised. Of this discourse General *Goring* had made great use, to the disadvantage of all those whom he desired to discredit, which was indeed one of the Motives of his Highness' Journey to *Exeter*, that he might discountenance that Report; which had wrought so far amongst the Gentlemen of the several Western Counties, who were retired thither for Safety, that there was a Resolution among them "to Petition the Prince to interpose between the King and the Par-

B O O K
IX.

A design to
Petition the
Prince to
send Conditions of Peace,
prevented.

B O O K

IX.

“ liament; and to send a Message to the latter with
 “ Overtures of Peace:” and to that purpose, meetings had been amongst those Gentlemen, to agree upon what Articles the Prince should propose a Peace; every Man declaring his opinion, what condescension should be in the matter of the Church, of the Militia, and of *Ireland*, upon consideration of what had passed at *Uxbridge*. When my Lords of the Council heard of these consultations, they apprehended great inconveniences might arise from thence to the King’s Service, and to the Prince; who, by being pressed by their desires, and importunities, would lose the honor and thanks of the good Success that might attend it: Besides that, if he should send any Message upon their Motion, they would quickly make Themselves Judges of the matter of it, and Counsellors of what was to be done upon it: therefore they were of opinion, “ that all endeavours were
 “ to be used to divert, and prevent any Petition of
 “ such a nature from being presented to his High-
 “ ness;” which, with great difficulty, was at last effected.

A Conference
 between the
 Lord Goring
 and one of
 the Prince’s
 Council.

Shortly after the Prince’s coming to *Exeter*, the Lord *Goring* being not then well, but engaged in a course of Physic, desired that he might have a free Conference with one of the Council in private; in which, he professed he would discover his heart, and whatever had stuck with him. Whereupon, according to appointment, the Person he had desired, went to him one Morning to his Lodging; when he caused all Persons to withdraw; and bid his Servant not to suffer any Man to disturb them. When they

were by themselves, he began with the discourse of "unkindnesses he had apprehended from the Council, and from that Person in particular; but confessed he had been deceived, and abused by wrong information: that he was now very sensible of the damage that had befallen the Public by those Private Jealousies and Mistakes; and desired, that if any thing had indiscreetly or passionately fallen from him, it might be forgotten; and that they might all proceed vigorously in what concerned the King's Service; in which he could not receive a better encouragement, than by an assurance of that Person's Friendship. From this, he discoursed at large his apprehensions of his Brother *Porter*, of his Cowardice, and of his Treachery, with very great freedom in many particular instances;" and concluded, "that he resolved to quit himself of him;" and after two hours spent in those discourses, and in somewhat that concerned his Father, in which he said, "he was to receive this Person's advice by his Father's direction (it being about the Government of *Pendennis*) as if he had said all he meant to say, he asked the other negligently, "what he thought of the Demands he had sent by the Lord *Wentworth*?" Protesting, "he had no private thoughts, but only an Eye to the Public Service; towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of Affairs then stood, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified." The other told him, "that whatever He thought of them would not signify much, being but a single voice in Council; by the concurrent Advice whereof, he presumed, the Prince would

B O O K “ govern himself. However, if he would have him
 IX. “ tell him his opinion as a Friend, he would show
 “ himself so ill a Courtier, as to tell it him frankly;
 “ which, except he reformed him in his judgment,
 “ he should declare where it should be proposed, and,
 “ he believed, it would be the opinion of most of
 “ the Lords, if it were not His.” Thereupon he told
 him very freely and plainly, “ that he thought his
 “ Demands not fit for the Prince to grant, nor sea-
 “ sonable for Him to ask; his Authority being the
 “ same, as to the Public, all his Orders being Obeyed,
 “ and the Prince giving Him the same Assistance, as
 “ if he were his Lieutenant-General: that the Prince
 “ had not hitherto interposed his Authority in the
 “ governing that Army; and therefore, that he con-
 “ ceived it unseasonable, at that time, for his High-
 “ ness to interest himself in the Command thereof;
 “ which he should do by making him Lieutenant-
 “ General: that the King having directed the Prince
 “ to make the Lord *Hopton* his Lieutenant-General,
 “ it would not become Them to advise the Prince
 “ to alter that designation, without receiving his
 “ Majesty’s Command:” therefore he advised him,
 “ since the alteration was no way necessary, and
 “ would inevitably beget much trouble, that he
 “ would defer the pressing it, till the King’s Affairs
 “ should be in a better Posture.” Satisfied he was
 not, yet he forbore to importune the Prince to that
 purpose at this time.

Prince Rupert
 delivers up
 Bristol.

About the middle of *September*, the Prince being
 still at *Exeter*, the News came of the fatal loss of
Bristol; which, as all ill accidents at that time did,
 cast

cast all Men on their Faces, and damped all the former Vigor and Activity for a march. However, the former Resolution continued of drawing to *Tiverton*, and at least of defending those Passes, and keeping the Enemy from Invading *Devon*: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to Fight, if *Fairfax* should advance, the Prince returned to *Launceston*; whither he Summoned all the Trained-bands of *Cornwal*, and an appearance of the whole Country; which appeared very cheerfully, and seemed well inclined to march to *Tiverton*. In the mean time the same negligence and disorder continued in the Army, and the Lord *Goring*, with the same Licence and Unconcernedness, remained at *Exeter*, to the great Scandal of the Country, and disheartening of the Army. About the latter end of *September*, his Lordship writ a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*; in which he remembered him of the Propositions formerly sent by the Lord *Wentworth* to *Launceston*; and recounted at large, but very unjustly, the discourse which had passed between the other Counsellor and Him, at *Exeter*, upon that Subject; in which he charged the other with Answers very far from those he had received from him; and desired his Lordship, "that, by His means, he might know positively what he was to trust to;" concluding, "that without such a Commission as he desired, he could not be answerable for the Mutinies and Disorders of the Army." Whereupon his Highness, upon full consideration of the mischiefs that would attend his Service, if he should consent to the Matter of those Demands, or comply with the Manner of

B O O K the demanding, sent him word, " that he would
 IX. " not for the present, grant any such Commission;"
 and wished him " to pursue the former Counsels and
 " Resolutions, in advancing towards the Enemy ;
 " all things being in a good forwardness in *Cornwall*
 " to second him." And so there was no further
 pressing that Overture ; however, he presumed to
 style himself, in all his Warrants, and Treaties with
 the Commissioners, and in some Orders which he
 Printed, " General of the West."

The sudden and unexpected loss of *Bristol*, was a
 new Earthquake in all the little Quarters the King
 had left, and no less broke all the Measures which had
 been taken, and the designs which had been con-
 trived, than the loss of the Battle of *Naseby* had done.
 The King had made haste from *Ludlow*, that the *Scot-*
tish Army might no more be able to interrupt him; and
 with very little rest passed through *Shropshire*, and
Derbyshire, till he came to *Wellbeck*, a House of the
 Marquis of *New-Castle* in *Nottinghamshire*, then a
 Garrison for his Majesty; where he refreshed Himself,
 and his Troops, two days; and, as far as any reso-
 lution was fixed in those days, the purpose was,
 " to march directly into *Scotland*, to join with the
 " Marquis of *Mountrose*;" who had, upon the matter,
 reduced that whole Kingdom. During his Majesty's
 short stay at *Wellbeck*, the Governor of *Newark*. with
 the Commissioners for *Nottingham* and *Lincoln* re-
 paired to him, as likewise all those Gentlemen of
Yorkshire who had been in *Pontefract-Castle* (which,
 after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for
 mere want of all kind of Provisions, Surrendered
 upon good conditions; whereby, " all the Soldiers

“ had liberty to repair to their own Houses, and might
 “ live quietly there) ” whereupon the Gentlemen
 assured the King, “ they were as ready as ever to
 “ serve him, when they should be required.” Whether
 the wonted irresolution of those about the King, or
 the imagination, upon this report of the Gentlemen,
 that a body of Foot might be speedily gathered to-
 gether in those parts (which was enough encouraged
 by the cheerfulness of all the Gentlemen of the several
 Counties) prevailed, or not, so it was, that the
 King was persuaded, “ that it was not best to con-
 “ tinue his march, with that speed he intended, to-
 “ wards *Mountrose*; but that it would be better to send
 “ an Express to him, to agree upon a fit place for their
 “ meeting; and in the mean time, his Majesty might
 “ be able to refresh his wearied Troops, and to raise a
 “ Body of Foot in those parts.” To which purpose
Doncaster was proposed as a fit place to begin in: and
 to *Doncaster*, thereupon, the King went; and the Gen-
 tlemen so well performed their undertaking, that, with-
 in three days there was an appearance of full three
 thousand Foot; who undertook, within four-and-
 twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to
 march with his Majesty what way soever he would go.

The King goes
to Doncaster.

Here again the King's froward Fortune, deprived
 him of this opportunity to put himself into a posture
 of war. That very Night, they received Intelligence,
 “ that *David Lesley* was come to *Rotherham* with all
 “ the *Scottish* Horse;” which was within ten miles
 of *Doncaster*. The news whereof so confounded
 them (as beaten and baffled Troops do not natu-
 rally, in a short time, recover courage enough to

B O O K endure the fight of an Enemy) that they concluded
IX. “ he came in pursuit of the King, and therefore that
 “ it was now too late to proceed upon their Northern
 “ Expedition, and that the King must speedily remove
 “ to a greater distance for his own security.” Where-
 upon, he made haste (without expecting that recruit
 of Foot) from *Doncaster*, back again to *Newark*;
 Resolving then to go directly to *Oxford*; whereas, in
 truth, *David Lesley* knew nothing of the King’s being
 in those parts; but, upon sudden Orders from
Scotland, was required to march, with all possible
 expedition, with the Horse, to relieve his own
 Country from being totally overturned and subdued
 by the Marquis of *Mountrose*; who had then actually
 taken *Edinburgh*. The Orders had no sooner come
 to the *Scottish* Army before *Hereford*, but he begun
 his march, without the least apprehension of any
 Enemy in his way, till he should come into *Scotland*;
 and so, as he had made a very long march that day
 he came tired and wearied with his Troops that
 Night into *Rotherham*. And he confessed after-
 wards, “ if the King had then fallen upon him, as
 “ he might easily have done, he had found him in a
 “ very ill posture to have made resistance, and had
 “ absolutely preserved *Mountrose*.” But by his so sud-
 den retreat, *David Lesley* was at liberty to pursue his
 march for *Scotland*, and came upon *Mountrose*, before
 he expected such an Enemy; and so prevented his
 future triumph, that he was compelled with great
 loss to retire again into the Highlands; and *Lesley* re-
 turned time enough to relieve and support the *Scottish*
 Army, after they were compelled to rise from *Hereford*.

Thence to
Newark.

Mountrose
of Lesley by
David Lesley.

The King now, with great expedition, prosecuted his Journey to *Oxford*, though not without making some Starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up some Quarters of new-levied Horse for the Service of the Parliament; and before the end of *August*, he arrived at *Oxford*; where he did not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to *Worcester*, with a resolution to attempt the relief of *Hereford*; which had defended itself bravely, and very much weakened the *Scottish* Army by frequent Sallies. They had only a Body of eight hundred tired Horse remaining, which *David Lesley* left behind him when he marched with the rest into *Scotland*; and therefore the raising that Siege was thought the less difficult; and with this resolution his Majesty left *Oxford* the third day after he came thither. Upon his arrival at *Ragland*, he was certainly informed, "that *Fairfax* had Besieged *Bristol*," for which no body underwent any trouble; for all Men looked upon that place as well Fortified, Manned, and Victualled; and the King even then received a very cheerful Letter from Prince *Rupert*; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four Months." So that the Siege being begun so late in the year, as the beginning of *September*, there was reasonable hope that the Army might be ruined, before the Town taken. Therefore the King prosecuted his former resolution, at least to endeavour the relief of *Hereford*. And as he was upon his March thither, he received Intelligence, "that the *Scottish* Army, upon the notice of his Purpose, was that Morning risen in great disorder and confusion, and resolved to

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The King goes to Oxford,

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The Scots rise
from before
Hereford and
march into
the North.

“ make their retreat on the *Welsh*-side of the River,
“ and so to pass through *Glocester*.” This news was so
welcome, and his Majesty was received with so full
joy into the City of *Hereford*, that he slipped the
opportunity he then had of discommoding at least, if
not ruining the *Scottish* Army; which now passed
through a strange Country, where they had never
been, and where the whole Nation was extremely
odious to the People. Nor would the Governor of
Glocester suffer them to pass through his Garrison, till
they sent him word plainly “ that if they might not
“ pass through that Town,” they “ knew they should
“ be very welcome to pass through *Worcester*,” by
which Argument he was convinced; so that he per-
mitted them to go through that Town, from whence
they prosecuted their march into the North. If, in
all this time, they had been pursued by the King’s
Horse, considering the small Body they had of their
own, there is little doubt to be made very many, if
not the greater part of that Army, had been destroyed.

But the King’s heart was now so wholly set upon
the Relief of *Bristol*, that nothing else was thought
upon, which might in any degree delay it. And so
the King, from *Hereford*, advertised Prince *Rupert*,
“ that he had raised the Siege of *Hereford*, and that
“ the Scots were marched Northward; that he intend-
“ ed speedily to relieve him; and in order to it, that
“ he had then commanded General *Goring*, to draw
“ what force he could out of the West; and to march
“ to the *Somersetshire* side of *Bristol*; and that his Ma-
“ jesty would himself have a Body of three thousand
“ Foot, drawn out of the several Garrisons of those

“ parts, which should pass over the *Severn* about
 “ *Berkeley-Castle* or *Glocester/shire-side*; and that his
 “ Horse, which were then above three thousand,
 “ should at the same time Ford the *Severn* not far from
 “ *Glocester* ” (as they might have done) “ and so join
 “ with his Foot ; and by this means all things being
 “ concerted, they might hopefully fall on *Fairfax*
 “ his Quarters on both sides.” And the better to
 bring all this to pass, the King himself went the
 second time to *Ragland*, the House of the Marquis
 of *Worcester*; sending the Horse to those several
 places, as might best facilitate the execution of the
 design that was formed for the relief of *Bristol*.

But when the King came to *Ragland*, he received
 the terrible information of the Surrender of *Bristol*,
 which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence
 thereof had not been unquestionable, it could not
 have been believed. With what indignation, and
 dejection of mind, the King received this Advertise-
 ment, needs no other description and enlargement,
 than the setting down, in the very words of it, the
 Letter which, the King writ thereupon to Prince
Rupert: which, considering the unspeakable indul-
 gence his Majesty had ever showed towards that
 Prince, is sufficient evidence, how highly he was
 offended and incensed by that Act; which yet he took
 some time sadly to think of, and consider, before
 he would allow himself to abate so much of his
 natural candor towards him. As soon as he received
 that surprising Intelligence, he presently removed
 from *Ragland*, and returned to *Hereford*, the Post
 he chose wherein to consider the desperateness of the

BOOK condition he was in, and to enter upon new consultations. To that purpose, he sent Orders "for all
IX. "the Officers, and their Troops, which had been
"sent into *Shropshire. Worcestershire*, and South-
"Wales to provide for the relief of *Bristol* to attend
"him there." And as soon as he came to *Hereford*,
he despatched an Express with this Letter to Prince
Rupert.

Hereford 14th Sept. 1645.

Nephew,

The King's
Letter to
Prince Rupert
upon his Surrender of
Bristol.

"Though the loss of *Bristol* be a great blow to me,
"yet your Surrendering it as you did, is of so much
"affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget
"the consideration of that place, but is likewise the
"greatest Trial of my constancy that hath yet be-
"fallen me; for what is to be done, after one that is
"so near me as You are, both in Blood and Friend-
"ship, submits himself to so mean an Action? (I
"give it the easiest terms) such—I have so much to
"say, that I will say no more of it: only, lest rash-
"ness of judgment be laid to my charge, I must re-
"member you of your Letter of the 12th of *August*,
"whereby you assured me, that if no Mutiny hap-
"pened, you would keep *Bristol* for four Months.
"Did you keep it four Days? Was there any thing
"like a Mutiny? More Questions might be asked,
"but Now, I confess, to little purpose: My con-
"clusion is to desire you to seek your Subsistence,
"until it shall please God to determine of my Condi-
"tion. somewhere beyond Sea; to which end I send
"you herewith a Pass; and I pray God to make you

“ sensible of your present Condition , and give you
 “ means to redeem what you have lost ; for I shall
 “ have no greater joy in a Victory, than in a just
 “ occasion without blushing to assure you of my
 “ being ”

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Your loving Uncle, and most faithful Friend, *C. R.*

With this Letter , the King sent a Revocation of all Commissions formerly granted to Prince *Rupert* , and signified his Pleasure to the Lords of the Council at *Oxford* , whither Prince *Rupert* was retired with his Troops from *Bristol* , “ that they should require “ Prince *Rupert* to deliver into their hands his Com-
 “ mission.” And whether the King had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up, and make some disorder in *Oxford* , or whether it was the effect of other Men’s Counsels , his Majesty , at the same time , sent a Warrant likewise for the present Imprisonment of Colonel *Leg* (who was Governor of *Oxford*) as a Person much in the Prince’s favor, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his Commands. But this circumstance of rigor, made the other judgment upon the Prince thought to be over-sudden , “ that He should be made the
 “ first Example of the King’s Severity, when so many
 “ high Enormities, and Miscarriages of others, had
 “ passed without being called in question.” And as no body suspected the Prince’s want of Duty in submitting to the King’s Pleasure, so Colonel *Leg* was generally believed to be a Man of that entire Loyalty to the King, that he was above all temptations: this circumstance of committing the Governor, made the

B O O K other to be likewise suspected to be more the effect
IX. of the power of some Potent Adversaries, than of the King's own Severity.

When the Prince of *Wales* came to *Launceston* from *Exeter* (which was about the middle of *September*) after the loss of *Bristol*, and the motion of the Enemy inclined Westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the Trained-bands of *Cornwal* to *Launceston*, and as many of them as could be persuaded, to march Eastward; it being agreed at *Exeter*, " that, if the
 " Enemy gave time, the force of both Counties (save
 " what was necessary to be continued at *Plymouth*)
 " should be drawn to *Tiverton*, and, upon that Pass,
 " to Fight with the Rebels; for the better compassing
 " whereof; it was Ordered, that Sir *Richard Greenvil*
 " should Command all the *Cornish* Trained-bands,
 " whereunto should be added his own three Regi-
 " ments, which he had formerly carried to *Taunton*;" who took themselves to be so disobliged, both Officers and Soldiers (as in truth they were) by the Lord *Goring*, that they were absolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon assurance that they should be Commanded by Sir *Richard Greenvil*. Things being thus settled, *Greenvil* seemed well satisfied, having all the respect, and encouragement from the Prince that was desired, or could be given; and without any other indisposition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a Letter either to the Prince himself, the Lords, or Mr. *Fanshaw*, Extolling himself, and Reproaching the Lord *Goring*'s plundering Horse, and sometimes Sir *John Berkeley*; in all which he used a very extraordinary Licence.

During the Prince's being at *Exeter*, Sir *John Berkeley* had desired, "that, in respect his continual presence would be necessary at *Exeter*, since the Enemy apparently looked that way, his Highness would dispose the Command of the Forces before *Plymouth*, to such a Person as He thought fit; who might diligently attend that Service." There was a general inclination to have sent back Sir *Richard Grenvil* to that Charge, which it was visible he looked for; but there were three great points to be considered; The first, the pretence that General *Digby* had to that Command; to whom it Originally belonged; and both He, and the Earl of *Bristol*, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time so well recovered in his health, that he was well able to execute the Command: The next, that if it should be offered to *Greenvil*, he would insist upon such assignations of Contributions, as would make the subsistence of the Army, and of the Garrisons impossible; the last and the greatest, was, that the whole design being now to draw such a Body together, as might give the Rebels Battle, this could not be without the *Cornish* Trained-bands, and those other Soldiers, who had run from their Colors; neither of which, would march without Sir *Richard Grenvil*; and it was apparent, if he went to *Plymouth*, those old Soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching Army; where there was a great dearth of good Officers. Hereupon, it was resolved that General *Digby* should again resume the Charge about *Plymouth*, but upon any extraordinary occasion, and

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advance of the Enemy, he was to receive Orders from Sir *Richard Grenvil*; and accordingly, upon Sir *Richard Grenvil*'s advancing into *Devon*, and fixing a Quarter at *Chington*, *Digby* was ordered so to do; which he observed accordingly.

In the beginning of *October* the Lord *Goring* persuaded the Commissioners of *Devon*, upon his promise to punish and suppress all disorders in the Soldiery, and that the Markets should be free. "to double the Contribution of the County for six Weeks, and "to assign half thereof to his Army;" by virtue whereof he raised vast Sums of Money; but abated nothing of the former disorders, and pressures: and the Money so raised, instead of being regularly distributed amongst the Soldiers, was disposed to such Persons as he thought fit by his Warrants to direct. But no sooner was Sir *Thomas Fairfax* advanced as far as *Cullampton*, than the Lord *Goring* gave over the thought of defending *Devon*, and, by his Letter of the eleventh of *October* to the Lord *Colepepper*, said, "that he had sent all the Horse, but one thousand, "Westward, under the Command of the Major-General, to join with the *Cornish*; who were to advance; and that Himself, with one thousand Horse, "and all his Foot, resolved to stay in *Exeter* to defend "that Town, if the Enemy came before it; or to be "ready to attend their Rear, if they marched forward;" and therefore desired, "that his Highness "would appoint whom he thought fit, to give Orders to the Lord *Wentworth*, his Major-General, "who was prepared not to dispute Orders sent by "any Substituted by the Prince." Hereupon, the

Prince had appointed Sir *Richard Greenvil* "to advance with the *Cornish* to *Okington*," and directed the Major-General "to receive Orders from him:" But, by that time they two had disposed themselves in Order, as they did very handsomely and cheerfully, General *Goring* changed his mind, and within four days after his former Letter he retired with his thousand Horse out of *Exeter* to *Newton-Bushell*; and then sent to the Prince, by a Letter to the Lord *Colepepper*, to know "whether Sir *Richard Greenvil* should receive Orders from him; and offered to undertake any design with Sir *Richard Greenvil*, or by Himself, as the Prince should direct; or that if his Presence and Command should be thought, on the account of any indisposition in the *Cornish* towards him, probable to produce any inconvenience to the Service, he would willingly, for that Expedition, resign his Command to any Person the Prince would design for it:" intimating withal, "that if the Lord *Hopton* had it, the Lord *Wentworth* would willingly receive Orders from him." His Highness, the next day, writ to him, "that he committed the management of the whole to his Lordship; and had Commanded Sir *Richard Greenvil* to receive Orders from him, who had then a good Body of *Cornish* with him, and power to draw off the Men from *Plymouth*, if there should be occasion."

The King's having been in that perpetual motion, as hath been mentioned before, kept the Express that had been sent to him from the Counsellors, upon the first signification of his Pleasure concerning the Prince's Transportation into *France*, from delivering

B O O K that Letter for some time. So that it was the middle
IX. of *October*, before they received his Majesty's further direction. Then this Letter to the Lord *Colepepper* was brought back by the same Express.

Colepepper,

The King's
 Letter concerning the
 Prince of
 Wales.

" I have seen and considered your despatches; and
 " for this time you must be content with Results
 " without the Reasons, leaving you to find them;
 " Lord *Goring* must break through to *Oxford* with
 " his Horse, and from thence, if he can, find me
 " out. wheresoever he shall understand I shall be;
 " the Region about *Newark* being, as I conceive, the
 " most likely place. But that which is of more ne-
 " cessity, indeed absolute, is, that, with the best
 " conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest ex-
 " pedition, Prince *Charles* be Transported into
 " *France*; where his Mother is to have the sole care
 " of him, in all things but one, which is his Reli-
 " gion; and that must still be under the care of the
 " Bishop of *Salisbury* and this I undertake his Mother
 " shall submit unto: concerning which, by my
 " next despatch, I will advertise Her; this is all;"

So I rest

Your most assured Friend, *Charles R.*

Though this Letter was writ after the loss of *Bristol*, yet when it arrived, the hopes of the West were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the Lords, " that, as the Person of
 " the Prince was never to be in hazard of being sur-
 " prised. so he was not to be Transported out of
 " the King's Dominions, but upon apparent, visible

"necessity, in point of safety:" And the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the Lord *Goring* and others, enviously whispered, to the great disheartening of the People; so that (besides that an unseasonable attempt of going, might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole West, both Garrisons, and Army, would immediately have attended that Action, and therefore they thought, they should be absolved, in point of duty, by the King, if they only preserved themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his Command at that time; especially since General *Goring* thought it not reasonable to observe the Orders, which were sent to him at the same time, for marching towards the King, nor so much as advised with his Highness, or Communicated that he had received any such Orders; and yet his Highness let him know, "that he was well content, that he should break through with his Horse to the King; which he might have done."

The Enemy, having gained *Tiverton*, made no great haste to the West of *Exeter*, but spent their time in Fortifying some Houses near the Town, on the East-side, without receiving the least disturbance from the Army; the Lord *Goring* entertaining himself in his usual jollity between *Exeter*, *Totness*, and *Dartmouth*; it being publicly spoken in *Exeter*, "that the Lord *Goring* intended to leave the Army, and speedily to go beyond Seas, and that Lieutenant-General *Porter* resolved to go to the Parliament;" long before the Prince understood General *Goring's* resolution to go into *France*, by any intimation from

B O O K himself. The twentieth of *November*, his Lordship
IX. writ a Letter from *Exeter* to the Prince by the Lord
Wentworth, "that, now that the Enemy and his
 " Lordship were settled in their Winter-Quarters"
 (whereas the Enemy was then as stirring as ever)
 " he did beg leave of his Highness to spend some
 " time for the recovery of his health, in *France*;"
 intimating, "that he hoped to do his Highness some
 " notable Service by that Journey;" and desired,
 "that his Army might remain entirely under the
 " Command of the Lord *Wentworth*" (whereas, not
 above a Fortnight before, he had writ, "that the
 " Lord *Wentworth* was very willing to receive Or-
 " ders from the Lord *Hopton*) until his return; which,
 " he said, should be in two Months;" and so having
 despatched the Lord *Wentworth* with this Letter to
 the Prince to *Truro*, his Lordship, never attending
 his Highness' leave or approbation, went the same,
 or the next day, to *Dartmouth*; where he stayed no
 longer than till he could procure a passage into *France*;
 whither, with the first wind, he was Transported;
 Lieutenant-General *Porter*, at the same time, declin-
 ing the Exercise of his Command, and having re-
 ceived several Messages, Letters, and a Pass from the
 Enemy for his going to *London*. After the knowledge
 whereof, General *Goring* signed a Warrant for the
 Levying two hundred pounds upon the Country for
 the bearing his Charges. The Lord *Wentworth*, at
 the time of his being then at *Truro*, told some of his
 confidants, "that the Lord *Goring* intended to return
 " no more to the Army, or into *England*; but relied
 " upon Him to preserve the Horse from being
 " engaged,

The Lord
Goring retires
 into France.

“ engaged, till he could procure a Licence from the
 “ Parliament to Transport them, for the Service of
 “ a Foreign Prince, which would be a fortune to
 “ the Officers. And the Major-General said after-
 “ wards at *Louneſton*, that he could not underſtand
 “ the Lord *Goring*’s deſigns; for that, at his going
 “ from the Army, he gave the Officers great charge
 “ to preſerve their Regiments, for he had hope to
 “ get leave to Transport them;” and within few
 days after he arrived at *Paris*, he ſent Captain *Por-*
ridge into *England*, to fetch all his Saddle-Horſes,
 and Horſes of Service, upon pretence that he was to
 preſent them in *France*; though at the ſame time he
 aſſured his Friends. “ that he was returning ſpeedily
 “ with Men and Money;” which was not the more
 believed by his ſending for his Horſes.

Though there had been no great Modeſty uſed in
 the diſcourſes of the People towards General *Goring*,
 from the time of his firſt ſaſtening in the Weſt, eſpe-
 cially of the *Corniſh*, whom he had moſt unſkilfully
 irreconciled to him, by his continual neglects and
 contempts of them (as he would uſually before *Taun-*
ton, when he viewed his Foot, clap an *Iriſh*-man,
 or one of thoſe Soldiers who came out of *Ireland*, who
 doubtleſs were good Men, on the Shoulders, and
 tell him, in the hearing of the reſt, “ that he was
 “ worth ten *Corniſh*-Cowards,” the greateſt part of
 his preſent ſtrength, and all his future hopes depend-
 ing upon the *Corniſh*, many whereof had reaſon to
 believe themſelves not inferior to any who had
 ſerved the King) yet from the time that he left the
 Army, and went for *France*, they gave themſelves

BOOK IX. a greater Licence; and declared, " that he had, from
 " the beginning, Combined with the Rebels; and
 " having wasted and ruined all the Supplies which
 " had been sent him, had now left a dissolute and
 " odious Army to the Mercy of the Enemy, and to a
 " County more justly incensed, and consequently
 " more merciless than they. They compared the loss
 " of *Weymouth*, in the view of his Army, after he
 " had been in the Town, and when the whole direc-
 " tion was in him, with the Counter-suffle at *Pether-*
 " *ton-Bridge*, when two of his own Parties, pur-
 " suing the Orders they had received, Fought with
 " each other, whilst the Enemy retired to their own
 " strengths: they remembered the voluntary, want-
 " on, incensing the Country; the discountenancing
 " the Garrison of *Lamport*, and dissolving it; the
 " eating the Provisions of the rest; the cherishing
 " the Club-men; and the lying with his whole Army
 " before *Taunton* full six Weeks (after he had decla-
 " red the Enemy to be in his Mercy, within six days)
 " and in that time (pretending that he would in few
 " days starve them) he suffered great quantities of
 " Provisions to be carried into them, through his
 " own Quarters, and several Interviews, and private
 " Meetings to be by his Brother *Porter* (whose
 " Integrity he had before suspected) and the chief-
 " Officers of the Rebels: the neglecting his Body of
 " Foot, during the time that he lay before *Taunton*,
 " by which he suffered above two thousand to run
 " away. They talked of the beating up his Head-
 " Quarter the day before the Rout at *Lamport* at
 " Noon-day, for which no Man was ever called to

“ a Council of War; and that total Rout at *Lamport*, B O O K
 “ as two of the most supine, and unsoldierly Defeats, IX.
 “ that were ever known; before which, or in those
 “ straits, or upon any other occasions of Advice,
 “ that he never called a Council of War to consider
 “ what was to be done; and in that last business of
 “ *Lamport*, himself was so far from being present,
 “ that coming in great disorder to *Bridgewater*, he
 “ said, he had lost his Foot, and Cannon; which
 “ indeed were brought off entirely by the care, and
 “ diligence of the Lord *Wentworth*, and Sir *Joseph*
 “ *Wagstaff*. They talked of his unheard of neglecting
 “ the Army, after that Retreat at *Bridgewater*, inso-
 “ much as of between three and four thousand Foot,
 “ which himself confessed he had after that business
 “ (and if his loss had been no greater than he owned,
 “ must have been a far greater Number) within six-
 “ teen days, he had not thirteen hundred, nor even
 “ after recovered a Man, but what was gotten up
 “ by the Activity and Authority of the Prince. Lastly,
 “ they remembered his lying in *Devonshire* from the
 “ beginning of *July*, which was about the time of
 “ his Retreat from *Lamport*, to the end of *November*,
 “ when he went to *France* (which was five Months)
 “ with a Body of above four thousand Horse and
 “ Foot; destroying, and irreconciling the Country
 “ to the King, and the Cause, without making the
 “ least attempt, or in any degree looking after the
 “ Enemy; whilst the Rebels, by formal Sieges,
 “ took in the Garrisons of *Bridgewater*, *Sherborne*,
 “ and *Bristol*, and many other important holds.”

Upon the whole matter, comparing his Words,

B O O K and his Actions, laying his doing and his not doing
IX. together, they concluded, "that if he had been
 " confederate with the Enemy, and been corrupted
 " to betray the West, he could not have taken a
 " more effectual way to do it; since he had not
 " interest enough by any Overt-Act to have put it
 " into their power;" and therefore they who had a
 greater opinion of his Wit, Courage, and Conduct,
 than of his Conscience, and Integrity, presumed the
 failing was in the latter; towards which opinion
 they were the more inclined, by many discourses
 negligently let fall by the Enemy in their Quarters,
 " that they were Sure enough of *Goring*; and by
 Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* applying himself to the taking
 those strong places after the Rout at *Lamport*, with-
 out ever considering or looking after the Lord
Goring's Army; which he could not but know con-
 sisted of a Body of Horse, equal in Number to his
 own; and had reason to apprehend those two Popu-
 lous Counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal*, could quickly
 recruit the Foot; "which negligence (said they)
 " *Fairfax* could never be guilty of, if he had not
 " been well assured, that those Forces should work
 " them no inconvenience;" besides that, being un-
 pursued, *Goring* might easily have made an escape,
 and joined with the King, and so have diverted all
 the Enemies designs upon the West.

Others, who were not enough in love with the
 Lord *Goring*, to desire to be joined with him in any
 'Trust, yet in their opinions clearly absolved him
 from any Combination with the Enemy, or design
 of Treachery, and imputed the slow managing the

business, at his first coming into the West, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that Command, and so not making haste, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those Parts, and be called to the King; for without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between Him and Prince *Rupert* to that degree, that all the Countenance General *Goring* received from Court in prejudice of the Prince's Authority, and of his Council, was procured for him purely by that Prince; who in one of his Letters to him, at such time as he was before *Taunton*, used these words; "what you desire in your Letter, " on the 22^d of *May*, shall be observed; and assure " yourself that Prince *Rupert* shall maintain General " *Goring's* Honor and Power, and shall lose his Life, " rather than General *Goring* shall suffer for Prince " *Rupert*;" which Letter (as he did any others, which he received from his Majesty, or the Secretaries, in Cipher) he Communicated to the Company in all his Acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident, he was resolved never to be in the same Army with Prince *Rupert* under his Command; and all his loose and scandalous Speeches, they imputed to an innate licence he had always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate Oversights, to the laziness and inactivity of his Nature; which could better pursue, and make Advantages upon good Successes, than struggle and contend with difficulties and straits. And they who had been nearest the Observation, found a great difference between the presentness of his Mind and Vivacity in

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a sudden Attempt, though never so full of Danger, and an Enterprize that required more deliberation, and must be attended with patience, and a steady circumspection; as if his Mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been observed to give over a Game, sooner than Gamesters that have been thought to have less Fire. Many other passages must be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the Persons of the Council, after he found they would not comply with his desires, and to his particular Ambition; and both those Passions of Ambition, and Revenge, might transport his Nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his discourse at parting to the Officers, for the keeping the Horse for the Service of some Foreign Prince, was never understood, except he did really believe, that he should shortly return with a Body of Foot; and so that they should not be forward to engage with the Enemy, or else to keep such a dependance upon him from the Officers, that they should always hope for employment under him.

Whilst Sir *Richard Greenvil* stayed at *Okington*, he had several strange designs; which he always communicated to the Prince, or Lords, in Writing; one of which was, "to cut a deep Trench from *Barnstable* to the South-Sea, for the space of near forty Miles; by which, he said, he would defend all *Cornwal*, and so much of *Devon*, against the World," and many such impossible Undertakings; at which they who understood matters of that Nature, thought him besides himself. Notwithstanding the Trained-bands of *Cornwal* returned to

their Homes (having stayed out their Month; which was their first Contract) Sir *Richard Greenvil* stayed still at *Okington*, with his three Regiments of old Soldiers, having barricadoed the Town; the Pass being of very great importance to hinder the Enemy from any Communication with *Plymouth*. And indeed the Reputation of his being there with a greater Strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the Rebels on the East-side of *Exeter*; as appears by their sudden Advance, as soon as he removed from that Post; which he did about the end of *November*, without giving the least advice to the Prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the Lords *Capel*, and *Colepepper*, who were then at *Exeter*, and hearing of his Resolution, had written to him very earnestly “not to remove.” He suddenly retired with his three Regiments from *Okington* into *Cornwal*, and Mustered his Men upon the River *Tamar*, that divides *Cornwal* from *Devon*, with express Command “to Guard the Passes, and not to suffer any of the Lord *Goring*’s Men, upon what pretence or warrant soever, to come into *Cornwal*.” For the better doing whereof, he caused the Country to come in to work at their Bridges, and Passes, as he had done before, most unreasonably, for the Fortifying of *Launceston*; and caused Proclamations, and Orders of his own, to be read throughout *Cornwal*, in the Churches, “that if any of the Lord *Goring*’s Forces” (whom in those Writings he charged with all the odious Reproaches for Plundering) “should offer to come into *Cornwal*, they should Ring the Bells, and thereupon the

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" whole County should Rise, and beat them out;" by these unheard of, and unwarrantable means, preparing the Country to such a hatred of the Lord *Goring*, and his Forces, that they rather desired the Company of the Rebels; so alienating all Men's Spirits from resisting of the Enemy; and all this without so much as Communication with the Prince, till it was executed.

About the last week of *November*, he came himself to *Truro* to the Prince, on the same day that his Highness had received Letters from the Lords at *Exeter*, of the extreme ill Consequence of Sir *Richard Greenvil's* drawing off from *Okington*; upon encouragement whereof, a strong Party of the Enemy was come to *Kirton*. Whereupon his Highness sent for Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and in Council, acquainted him with these Letters, and other Intelligence that he had received of the Enemy, and desired him to consider what was now to be done. The next day, without attending his Highness any more, but returning to his House at *Worrington*, he writ a long Letter to Mr. *Faulshaw* of his Advice, which he desired might be Communicated to the Lords; which was, " that his Highness should send to the Parlia-
" ment for a Treaty, and should offer, if he might
" enjoy the Revenue of the Duchy of *Cornwal*, and
" that they would not advance to disturb him in that
" County, that he would not attempt any thing
" upon them, but that they should enjoy the free-
" dom of all their Ports in *Cornwal* for Trade,
" without any disturbance by his Majesty's Ships:" and so, in plain *English*, to sit still a Neuter between

the King and the Parliament, at a time when there was a Body of Horse Superior to the Enemy in those Parts; and when an equal proportion of Foot might have been gotten together; and when his Majesty had not the face of an Army in any other part of *England*. The Prince was very much troubled at this Letter, and the more, because he found Sir *Richard Greenvil* had contracted a great friendship with such of his Highness's Servants, as he had reason to believe less zealous and intent upon the Honor, and Prosperity of the King; and because he had discovered he labored very much to infuse a jealousy into the Governor of *Pendennis-Castle*, "that the Prince intended to remove him from that Command, and to confer it upon the Lord *Hopton*;" to which purpose he had written to the Governor from *Okington* (when the Lord *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, were sent down thither to assist him in the Fortifying and Supplying that Castle; which if they had not done, it would not have held out, as it did afterwards) "that the Lord *Hopton* had a Commission to take that Charge from him; but that he should not suffer such an affront to be put upon him; for He, and all his Friends, would stick to him in it:" Whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that Government.

Shortly after that Letter of the 27th, Sir *Richard Greenvil* writ again to Mr. *Fanshaw*, to know how his Propositions were approved; to which, by direction, he returned, "that the Council had not been yet together since the receipt of them; the Lords *Capel*, and *Colepepper*, being not then returned

B O O K “ from *Exeter*; and that therefore his Propositions
 IX. “ had not been yet Debated.” He proceeded in the mean time in his Fortifications there, and, about the middle of *December*, the Prince continuing at *Truro*, he sent several Letters to the Gentlemen of the County “ to meet him at *Launceston*.” One of which Letters I saw, to Colonel *Richard Arundel*, in which, “ He desired him to bring as many Gentlemen, and others of Ability, as he could, as well “ the disaffected, as well-affected; for that he intended to Communicate to them some Propositions, which he had formerly preferred to the “ Prince, and though they were not hearkened to “ There, he believed would be very acceptable to “ his Country-men of *Cornwal*.” but the Prince’s sudden going to *Tavistock* disappointed that meeting.

Shortly after the Lord *Goring*’s going into *France*, the Prince, being informed from *Exeter*, “ that the “ Enemy, at the same time having finished their “ works, which kept the City from any Relief on “ the East-side, were now drawing their Forces to “ the West-side, whereby that City would be speedily Distressed;” thought it necessary to send the Lords *Brentford*, *Capel*, *Hopton*, and *Colepepper*, to confer with the Lord *Wentworth*; who lay then at *Ash-Burton*, six miles from *Totness*, and with Sir *Richard Grenvil*, who was ready to draw some Foot into *Devon*, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the Service might proceed: their Lordships being directed, by Instructions under his Highness’ hand, upon consideration of the state of the Forces, and conference

with the the Lord *Wentworth*, and Sir *Richard Greenvil*, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the Relief of *Exeter* (the Prince having at the same time disbursed a thousand pound ready Money to two Merchants of *Exeter*, for Provision of Corn for that City) presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have received, and followed the advice which their Lordships should give.

The place of meeting was appointed to be *Tavistock*; where every body was, save the Lord *Wentworth*; but He failing, the Lords, having directed Sir *Richard Greenvil* how to dispose of himself, went themselves to *Ash-Burton*, near twenty Miles farther, to the Lord *Wentworth's* Quarter; where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His Lordship was very jealous of diminution in his Command, which General *Goring* had devolved to him, and expressing himself often-times to them very unnecessarily, "that he would receive Orders from none but the Prince Himself;" whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for Relief from *Exeter*, their Lordships "thought it absolutely necessary, that the Prince Himself should advance in Person, as well to bring up as great a Body of the *Cornish*, as was possible (which without his Presence was not to be hoped for) as to dispose the Command of the whole Forces in such manner, as might probably be for the best advantage; the best that was to be hoped for being to bring the Enemy to Fight a Battle; and that they might be enabled to that

B O O K “ purpose, by joining with the Foot that were in
 IX. “ *Exeter*; which was a considerable Body.” For
 the conducting so great a design, upon which no less
 than three Crowns depended, the Lord *Wentworth*
 could not be thought of Interest, Experience, or
 Reputation enough; and yet there was so great re-
 gard, that he should not suffer in his Honor, or the
 imaginary Trust devolved to him by General *Goring*,
 or rather indeed that no notable hazard might be
 run, by any unnecessary mutation in Commands;
 at a time when the Soldier was to be led to Fight,
 that it was resolved, “ that he should be rather Ad-
 “ vised, than Commanded; and that if he comport-
 “ ed himself with that Temper and Modesty, as
 “ was expected, all Resolutions should be formed
 “ in Council, and all Orders thereupon should issue
 “ in His Name.”

The next day after *Christmas*-day, the weather
 being very sharp, the Prince went from *Truro*, to
Bodmin; and the next day to *Tavistock*; where the
 Lords of the Council attended; the Lord *Wentworth*
 continuing at *Ash-Burton*, and his Horse spread over
 that part of the Country which was at any distance
 from the Enemy. Sir *Richard Greenvil*, who attended
 likewise at *Tavistock*, had sent three Regiments of
 Foot to *Okington*, under the Command of Major-
 General *Molesworth*; which were secured by the
 Brigade of Horse under Major-General *Web*, who
 was Quartered near those parts, and the *Cornish*
 Trained-bands were to come up within a week; the
 Blockade before *Plymouth* was maintained by Ge-
 neral *Digby*, with about twelve or thirteen hundred

Foot, and six hundred Horse; but the whole Contribution assigned for the support of those Forces, was taken by the Lord *Wentworth's* Horse; so that the Prince was compelled to supply those Men, out of the Magazines of Victual which he had provided in *Cornwal* for the Army when it should march; and to leave his own Guard of Horse upon the skirts of *Cornwal*; there being no Quarter to be had for them nearer his own Person.

About this time, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Quartered at a House about two miles East of *Exeter*, Sir *Hurdress Waller* with a Brigade of his Army at *Kirton*, and another part of the Army had possessed *Powdram-House*, and the Church, *Hulford-House*, and some other Holds on the West-side; so that no Provisions went in, and it hath been said before, how long the Army under *Goring* had subsisted upon the Provisions within, and kept all supply from entering: the advice taken at *Tavistock*, upon the Prince's coming thither, was, "that as soon as the *Cornish* Foot should be come up, his Highness should march with those, his own Guards, and as many Foot as might conveniently be taken from before *Plymouth*, by leaving Horse in their place, to *Totnefs*; where a Magazine should be made of Provisions for the whole Army, both by Money (for which the County would yield great store of Provisions) and by Victuals brought out of *Cornwal* by Sea;" for which likewise directions were given: "From that place it was concluded, that the Prince might join with the Forces in *Exeter*, except the Rebels should draw their whole

B O O K " Body between them; and then that Garrison
 IX. " would be able both to relieve itself, and to infest
 " the Enemy in the Rear; and the Prince might
 " retire, or Fight, as he found it most convenient
 " and advantageous to him." Resolutions being
 thus fixed, and the *Cornish* being not expected in
 full Numbers till the Week following, the Prince
 chose to go to *Totness*; where all things necessary
 might be agreed with the Lord *Wentworth*, who
 might conveniently attend there, his Quarters being
 within six miles; and where directions might be
 given for making the Magazine, towards which
 Money had been returned out of *Cornwal*.

The next day after the Prince came thither, the
 Lord *Wentworth* attended him, and was informed in
 Council, what had been thought reasonable at *Tavistock*;
 the which he approved of; the Prince then
 called to see a List of the Quarters, that thereupon
 it might be agreed how the whole Army should be
 Quartered when they came together; to which end,
 the next day, the Lord *Wentworth* brought the
 Quarter-Master-General *Pinkney*, who indeed go-
 verned him. At the first Council, the Lord *Went-*
worth told the Prince, " that he was to declare one
 " thing to him, at the entrance into business, and
 " for the prevention of any mistakes, that he could
 " receive no Orders from any Person but his High-
 " ness; the Lord *Goring* having reposed that trust in
 " him, and given him a Commission and Instruc-
 " tions to that purpose;" which he often repeated
 afterwards in Council; and, in the Debate of Quar-
 tering, talked very imperiously, and very disrespect-

fully, and one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to some of the Council, in the presence of the Prince. The time was not conceived seasonable for the Prince to declare how the Army should be commanded, till he had brought it together, and till he had his own Guards about him; and so the Prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the Lord *Wentworth's* carriage, only told him “that he would take the Command of the Army upon Himself, and issue out Orders as he should think fit;” and having visited the Port and Garrison of *Dartmouth*, and taken sufficient course for the providing the Magazines, and settled the differences about Quartering, he returned to *Tavistock*; resolving, with all possible expedition, to march with the whole Body of Foot to *Totness*, according to former appointment.

The day before the Prince begun his Journey to *Tavistock*, he received a Letter from the King his Father, dated upon the seventh of *November*, in these words:

Oxford, 7th of *November* 1645.

Charles,

“ I leave others to tell you the News of these parts,
 “ which are not so ill, as, I believe, the Rebels
 “ would make you believe: that which I think fit
 “ to tell you is, I command you, as soon as you
 “ think yourself in a probable danger of falling into
 “ the Rebels hands, to Transport yourself into
 “ *Denmark*; and, upon my blessing, not to stay too
 “ long upon uncertain hopes within this Island, in

A Letter from
the King to
the Prince.

B O O K “ case of danger as above said. For, if I mistake
 IX. “ not the present condition of the West, you ought
 “ not to defer your Journey one hour; in This I
 “ am not absolutely positive; but I am directly posi-
 “ tive, that your going beyond Sea is absolutely
 “ necessary for me, as I do, to command you; and
 “ I do not restrain you only to *Denmark*, but permit
 “ you to chuse any other Country, rather than to
 “ stay here; as for *Scotland* and *Ireland* I forbid you
 “ either, until you shall have perfect assurance, that
 “ Peace be concluded in the one, or that the Earl
 “ of *Mountrose*. in the other. be in a very good con-
 “ dition; which, upon my word, he is not now:
 “ so God bless you.”

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

Though the intimations in this Letter were strong for a present remove, yet they not being Positive, and the time of the year being such, as that the Prince could not be blocked up by Sea, and so could chuse his own time, and having one County entire, and *Exeter* and *Barnstable* in the other well Garrisoned, besides the Blockade before *Plymouth*, and the reputation of an Army, the Council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe; and so pursued the former design of joining the *Cornish* to the Horse, and to endeavour the relief of *Exeter*; for which purpose, the Prince undertook the Journey before mentioned to *Tavistock*, the day after *Christmas-day*; and, at his coming thither, received this other Letter from the King.

Oxford,

Oxford, the 7th of December 1645.

BOOK

Charles.

IX.

“ I writ to you this day Month ; of which, few Another
 “ days after, I sent you a Duplicate. The causes of Letter from
 “ my Commands to You in that Letter, are now his Majesty.
 “ multiplied. I will name but one, which I am sure
 “ is sufficient for what I shall now add to my former :
 “ it is This ; I have resolved to propose a Personal
 “ Treaty to the Rebels at *London* ; in order to
 “ which a Trumpet is by this time there, to demand
 “ a Pass for my Messengers, who are to carry my
 “ Propositions ; which if admitted, as I believe it
 “ will, then my real security will be, your being in
 “ another Country, as also a chief Argument (which
 “ speaks itself without an Orator) to make the Rebels
 “ hearken, and yield to Reason : whereas therefore
 “ I left you by my last to judge of the time, I abso-
 “ lutely command you to seek for carefully, and take
 “ the first opportunity of Transporting yourself into
 “ *Denmark*, if conveniently you can ; but rather than
 “ not go out of this Kingdom, immediately after the
 “ receipt of this, I permit, and command you to re-
 “ pair to any other Country, as *France, Holland, &c.*
 “ whereto you may arrive with most convenient
 “ security as to your passage ; for nothing else is to
 “ be feared : I need not recommend to you the leav-
 “ ing the Country in the best posture you may, it so
 “ speaks itself, as I shall always do to be,

Your loving Father *Charles R.*

His Highness, as he used to do, as soon as he had perused the Letter, which, as the rest, was written in

B O O K the Lord *Colepepper*'s Cipher, and by him Deciphered,
IX. delivered it again to his Lordship, "to be secretly
 " kept, and Communicated to the other three;" for
 it was by no means yet safe to trust it farther. They
 were much troubled at the receipt of this Letter; for,
 besides that it found them in the Article of the most
 probable design had been on foot since the late dis-
 asters, to preserve the West; if they should have
 attempted to have given Obedience to that Com-
 mand, the sudden, unexpected, and unreasonable
 leaving the Army, would visibly have declared what
 the intent had been, and would probably have en-
 gaged the People, and the Soldiers (who would have
 wanted neither Intelligence, nor Instigation from the
 Prince's own Servants; of whom the Lords could
 not rely upon three Men) they being full of hope in
 the Enterprize they were upon, and full of dislike of
 the other they were to chuse, to have prevented it;
 in which, they might reasonably have expected assist-
 ance from the Garrison of *Pendennis*; from which
 place his Highness was necessarily to remove Him-
 self. So that if the Prince should attempt to go, and
 succeed, the Army, upon that discountenance, must
 dissolve; and if he succeeded not, there might be a
 fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappoint-
 ment. Then, though they had long kept a Ship in
 the Harbour in readiness, and had at that time another
 Frigate of Mr. *Hafdunks*, yet by it's having been car-
 ried with so much secrecy that very few had taken
 notice of it, they could not be provided for so long a
 Voyage as to *Denmark*, which, with so important a
 Charge, would require two Months Victual at least.

But that which troubled them most, was the very Argument which his Majesty was pleased to use for his so positive Command; which, to their understanding, seemed to conclude rather, that his Highness' Transportation (at least without an immediate absolute necessity) was at that time most unseasonable: for if, in expectation of a Treaty, his Majesty should venture his Royal Person in *London*, and should be received there, and at the same time his Highness' Person should be Transported out of the Kingdom, by his Majesty's own Commands (which could not then have been concealed) it was reasonable to believe, that not only the Rebels would make great advantage of it, as an Argument against his Majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unspeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own Council, by which he was disposed to that Overture, and whose Assistance he must constantly use, would take themselves to be highly disobliged by that Act; and they would lose all confidence in their future Counsels.

Upon the whole Matter, the Lords were unanimously of opinion, "that the Relief of *Exeter* was "to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that "the Prince's Person was to be present at it:" and thereupon they sent an Express to the King, with a despatch signed by the Four who were trusted, a Duplicate whereof was sent by another Express the next day, in which they presented a clear state to his Majesty of his Forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the Prince's Presence; of the condition of *Exeter*, and of the Strength,

B O O K
IX.

as they conceived, of the Enemy; and of the inconveniency, if not the impossibility of obeying his Majesty at that time. They farther informed his Majesty of “the great indisposition, that they perceived
“in all the Servants towards his Highness’ leaving the
“Kingdom; and that the jealousy was so great of his
“going into *France*, that they had reason to believe
“that many who were very faithful, and tender of
“his Safety, would rather wish him in the hands of
“the Enemy, than in that Kingdom; and therefore,
“when the time of Necessity should come (which
“they assured his Majesty they would with any
“hazard watch and observe) they must prefer the
“continuing Him still within his Majesty’s own
“Dominions, and so to waite him to *Scilly*, or *Jersey*,
“and from thence conclude what was to be done
“farther. They presented likewise their humble
“opinion to him, that in case he should be engaged
“in a Personal Treaty at *London* (which they conceived the Rebels would never admit, without
“such Acts first obtained from his Majesty, as might
“invalidate His power, and confirm Theirs) how inconvenient it might be, without the Privy of
“those Counsellors, whom he was then to trust, to
“Transport the Prince, except in danger of Sur-
“prisal, before the issue of that Treaty might be discerned:” Assuring his Majesty. “that nothing
“should put his Highness’ Person into the hands of
“the Parliament, but his Majesty’s own Commands;
“which they should not resist in his own Dominions, nor, they conceived, any body else, if he
“were out of them.

The appearance at *Tavistock* answered the expectation; there being full two thousand four hundred of the Trained bands, very cheerful, and ready to march; at *Okington* were eight hundred old Soldiers, under Major-General *Moleworth*; the Foot with the Lord *Wentworth* were given out to be eight hundred, with the Lord *Goring's* Guards which were in *Dartmouth*; and to be drawn thence, upon the advance to the Army: from *Barnstable* the Governor had promised to send five hundred Men; and out of *Exeter*, at the least a thousand five hundred Men were promised: all which, with his Highness' Guards, might well be depended upon for six thousand Foot. The Horse was very little fewer than five thousand; whereof his Highness's Guards made near seven hundred; so that, if all these could have been brought to Fight, the day seemed not desperate. The Foot were appointed to have marched the morrow, when the News came, "that the Enemy was advanced, and had beaten up the Lord *Wentworth's* Quarters in two several places," and shortly after the News, the Lord *Wentworth* himself came in, in great disorder, not informed of the particular of his loss, but conceived it to be greater than in truth it was, though many Men, and more Horses, were taken in both places. The Prince was very desirous to pursue the former resolution, and to have advanced with the whole Body to *Totness*; but the Lord *Wentworth* did not only alledge, "that probably the Enemy was possessed by that time of *Totness*, but that he had in truth no hope to rally his Horse together, in any Numbers, till they might be allowed three or

B O O K
IX.

The Lord
Wentworth's
Horse beaten
at Ash-Burton.

B O O K
IX.

"four days rest." Whereas all that Rout had been occasioned by small Parties of the Enemy, who, at day-time, came into their Quarters, and found no Guards, but all the Horse in the Stables; and their whole Body moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great disorder they found those Troops to be in. Matters standing thus, and it being absolutely necessary, by reason of this disorderly retreat of the Horse, to draw off the Blockade from *Plymouth*, *Tavistock* was no longer thought a place for the Prince's Residence; his Highness by the Advice of a Council of War removed to *Launceston*; whither all the Foot were drawn, and the Horse appointed to keep the *Devonshire* side of the River; and from thence he hoped he should be speedily able to advance towards *Exeter*.

The King had staid at *Hereford*, as hath been said, in great perplexity, and irresolution; not knowing which way to take, but most inclined to go to *Worcester*; till he was assured, "that the whole strength of the Parliament in the North was gathered together under the Command of *Pointz*; and that he was already come between *Hereford* and *Worcester*, with a Body of above three thousand Horse and Dragoons; with which he was appointed always to attend the King's motion:" so that it would be very hard for his Majesty to get to *Worcester*, whither his purpose of going was, upon the new resolution he had taken again to march into *Scotland* to join with *Mountrose*, who was yet understood to be prosperous. This being the only design, it was not thought reasonable "to prosecute that

“ march by *Worcester*, and thereby to run the hazard
 “ of an Engagement with *Pointz* ; but rather to take
 “ a more secure passage through North- *Wales* to
 “ *Chester* ; and thence, through *Lancashire*, and
 “ *Cumberland*, to find a way into *Scotland*, unob-
 “ structed by any Enemy that could oppose them.”

This Counsel pleased ; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the King came within half a day's Journey of *Chester* ; which he found in more danger than he suspected ; for within three days before, the Enemy, out of their Neighbour-Garrisons, had surprised both the Out-works, and Suburbs of *Chester* ; and had made some attempt upon the City, to the great Terror, and Consternation of those within ; who had no apprehension of such a surprise. So that this unexpected coming of his Majesty, looked like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place : and the Besiegers were no less amazed, looking upon themselves as lost, and the King's Troops believed them to be in their power.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was sent with most of the Horse over *Holt-Bridge*, that he might be on the East-side of the River *Dee* ; and the King, with his Guards, the Lord *Gerrard*, and the rest of the Horse, marched directly into *Chester*, with a resolution, “ that, early the day following, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* should have fallen upon the back of the Enemy, when all the force of the Town should have sallied out, and so inclosed them.” But Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, being that Night drawn on a Heath two Miles from *Chester*, had intercepted a Letter

B O O K
IX.
The King
marches to
Chester, where
his Horse are
Routed by
Pointz.

B O O K from *Pointz* (who had marched a much shorter way, 1X. after he was informed which way the King was bound) to the Commander that was before *Chester*, telling him, “that he was come to their rescue, and “desiring to have some Foot sent to him, to assist “him against the King’s Horse:” and the next Morning he appeared, and was Charged by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and forced to retire with loss; but kept still at such a distance, that the Foot from before *Chester* might come to him. The Besiegers begun to draw out of the Suburbs in such haste, that it was believed in *Chester*, they were upon their Flight; and so most of the Horse and Foot in the Town, had order to pursue them. But the others haste was to join with *Pointz*; which they quickly did; and then they Charged Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being overpowered, was Routed, and put to Flight; and pursued by *Pointz* even to the Walls of *Chester*. There the Earl of *Lichfield* with the King’s Guards, and the Lord *Gerrard* with the rest of the Horse, were drawn up, and Charged *Pointz*, and forced him to retire. But the disorder of those Horse which first fled, had so filled the narrow ways, which were unfit for Horse to Fight in, that at last the Enemies Musqueteers compelled the King’s Horse to turn, and to Rout one another, and to overbear their own Officers, who would have restrained them. Here fell many Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, with the brave Earl of *Lichfield*; who was the third Brother of that Illustrious Family, that Sacrificed their Lives in this Quarrel. He was a very faultless young Man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable Nature, and

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IX.

of a Spirit and Courage invincible; whose loss all Men exceedingly lamented, and the King bore it with extraordinary grief. There were many Persons of Quality taken Prisoners, amongst whom Sir *Philip Musgrave*, a Gentleman of a noble Extraction and ample Fortune in *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*; who lived to engage himself again in the same Service, and with the same Affection, and after very great Sufferings, to see the King Restored. This Defeat broke all the Body of Horse, which had attended the King from the Battle of *Naseby*, and which now fled over all the Country to save themselves; and were as much dispersed, as the greatest Rout could produce.

The design of marching Northward, was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time *Mountrose* was Defeated by *David Lesley*; so that if the King had advanced farther, as he resolved to have done, the very next day after he came to *Chester*, he could never have been able to have retreated. He staid in *Chester* only one Night after this blow, but returned, by the same way by which he had come, to *Denbigh-Castle* in *North-Wales*, being attended only with five hundred Horse; and there he staid three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his Troops as had stopped within any distance. So that, in a short time, he had in view four-and-twenty hundred Horse; but whither to go with them was still the difficult question. Some proposed "the Isle of *Anglesey*, as a place of Safety, and an "Island Fruitful enough to support his Forces; "which would defend itself against any Winter-

The King
retires to
Denbigh to
rally his
Horse.

B O O K

IX.

“ attempt, and from whence he might be easily
 “ Transported into *Ireland* or *Scotland*.” They who
 objected against this, as very many objections might
 well be made. proposed “that his Majesty might Com-
 “ modiously make his Winter-Quarters at *Worcester*,
 “ and by Quartering his Troops upon the *Severn*,
 “ between *Bridgenorth* and *Worcester*, stand there
 “ upon his Guard; and by the access of some other
 “ Forces, might be able to Fight with *Pointz*,” who,
 by this time. that he might both be able the more to
 straiten *Chester*, and to watch the King’s motion,
 had drawn his Troops over the River *Dee* into *Den-*
highshire; so that he was now nearer the King, and
 made the march last proposed, much the more diffi-
 cult; but there was so little choice, that it was pro-
 secuted, and with good Success; and there being
 another Bridge to pass the *Dee* some Miles further,
 and through as ill ways as any those Countries have,
 his Majesty went over without any opposition; and
 had, by this means, left *Points* a full day’s Journey be-
 hind. Here Prince *Maurice* waited on his Majesty with
 eight hundred Horse, part whereof was of Prince
Rupert’s Regiment that came out of *Bristol*. And now
 being thus strengthened, they less apprehended the
 Enemy; yet continued, their march without resting,
 till, by Fording the *Severn* they came to *Bridgenorth*,
 the place designed. Now every body expected, that
 they should forthwith go to *Worcester*, and take up
 their Winter-Quarters; but upon the News of the
 Surrender of *Berkeley* Castle in *Glocestershire*, and of
 the *Devizes* in *Wiltshire*, two strong Garrisons of the
 King’s, it was urged, “ that *Worcester* would not be a

Thence to
 Bridgenorth.

“ good place for the King’s Winter-Residence , and B O O K
“ *Newark* was proposed as a place of more security.” IX.

This advice was the more like to be embraced, because it was vehemently pursued upon a private, and particular Interest.

Though Prince *Rupert* had submitted to the King’s pleasure, in resigning his Commission, yet he resolved not to make use of his Pass, and to quit the Kingdom, till he might first see his Majesty, and give an account of the Reasons which obliged him to deliver up *Bristol*, and was ready to begin his Journey towards him as soon as he could be informed where the King intended to rest. The Lord *Digby*, who had then the chief influence upon his Majesty’s Councils, and was generally believed to be the sole cause of revoking the Prince’s Commission, and of the Order sent to him to leave the Kingdom, without being heard what He could say for himself, found that the odium of all this proceeding fell upon Him; and therefore, to prevent the breaking of that Cloud upon Him, which threatened his Ruin (for he had not only the indignation of Prince *Rupert*, and all his Party to contend with, but the extreme Malice of the Lord *Gerrard*; who used to hate heartily upon a sudden accident, without knowing why; over and above this, as Prince *Rupert* would have an easy Journey to *Worcester*, so Prince *Maurice* was Governor there, who had a very tender sense of the severity his Brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it; whereas if the King went to *Newark*, the Journey from *Oxford* thither would be much more difficult, and Prince *Maurice* would be without any Authority

BOOK

IX.

Thence to
Newark.

The condition
of the Garrison
of Newark at
this time.

there) these Reasons were Motives enough to the Lord *Digby*, to be very solicitous to divert the King from *Worcester*, and to incline him to *Newark*; and his Credit was so great, that against the opinion of every other Man, the King resolved to take that course; so having stayed only one day at *Bridgenorth*, and from thence sent Sir *Thomas Glemham* to receive the Government of *Oxford*, he made haste to *Lichfield*; and then passed with that speed to *Newark*, that he was there as soon as the Governor had notice of his purpose. In this manner, in the greatest perplexity of his own Affairs, was his Majesty compelled to condescend to the particular, and private Passions of other Men.

When the King came to *Newark*, he betook himself to the regulating the disorders of that Garrison; which, by their great Luxury and Excesses, in a time of so general Calamity, had given just scandal to the Commissioners, and to all the Country. The Garrison consisted of about two thousand Horse and Foot; and to those there were about four-and-twenty Colonels and General-Officers, who had all liberal Assignments out of the Contributions, according to their Qualities; so that though that small County paid more Contribution than any other of that bigness in *England*, there was very little to pay the Common-Soldiers, or to provide for any other Expenses. This made so great a noise, that the King found it absolutely necessary to reform it; and reduced some of the Officers entirely, and lessened the Pay of others; which added to the number of the Discontented; which was very much too numerous before. Now reports were spread abroad with great confidence, and

the advertisement sent from several places, though no Author named " that *Mountrose*, after his Defeat, " by an access of those Troops which were then " absent, had Fought again with *David Lesley*; and " totally Defeated him; and that he was marched " towards the Borders with a strong Army." This News, how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily believed, and believed to that degree, that the King himself declared a Resolution, the third time, " to advance, and join with *Mountrose*;" and the Lord *Digby* (who knew that Prince *Rupert* was already upon his way from *Oxford*, and that Prince *Maurice* had met him at *Banbury*) prevailed so far, that the King resolved, without delay, or expecting any Confirmation of the Report, " to " move Northward to meet the News, and, if it " fell not out to his Wish, he would return to " *Newark*." In this Resolution, after a Week's stay at *Newark*, he marched to *Tuxford*; and the next day to *Wellbeck*, having, in his way, met with the same general Reports of *Mountrose's* Victories; which were interpreted as so many Confirmations; and therefore, though the King assembled his Council to consult at *Wellbeck*, he declared " that he would not have it " Debated, whether he should advance or retire; " but concerning the manner of his advancing; since " he was resolved not to retire; which he was sure " would be attended with more mischief than could " accompany his advancing."

This Declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the Major part, left very little to be consulted upon; for since they must advance,

BOOK IX. it was easily agreed “ that they should march the
 “ next day to *Rotherham*; and that the Troops
 “ should be drawn to a Rendezvous, the next Morn-
 “ ing, at such an Hour ;” and so the Officers were
 rising to give Orders out for the execution of what
 was resolved; when, in the instant, one knocked
 at the door; who, being called in was found to be
 the Trumpeter formerly sent from *Cardiff* to the
Scottish Army, with a Letter to the Earl of *Leven*,
 General thereof; who had taken him with him as
 far as *Berwick*, before he would suffer him to be dis-
 charged. The King asked him, “ what he had heard of
 “ the Marquis of *Mountrose* ?” He answered, “ that
 “ the last News he had heard of him was that he
 “ was about *Sterling*, retiring farther North; and
 “ that *David Lesley* was in *Lothian*, on this side *Edin-*
 “ *borough*; and that the *Scottish* Army lay between
 “ *North-Allerton* and *New-Castle*.” This so unex-
 pected Relation, dashed the former purpose; and
 the Lord *Digby* himself declared, “ that it was by no
 “ means fit for his Majesty to advance; but to retire
 “ presently to *Newark*; which was, by every body,
 agreed to; and the Rendezvous of the Army for the
 next Morning to continue. When they were at the
 Rendezvous, the King declared, “ that though it
 “ was not judged fit for Himself to advance North-
 “ ward, yet he thought it very necessary, that Sir
 “ *Marmaduke Langdale* should, with the Horse under
 “ his Command, march that way; and endeavour
 “ to join with *Mountrose*. And having said so, his
 Majesty looked upon Sir *Marmaduke*; who very
 cheerfully submitted to his Majesty’s pleasure; and

said, " he had only one Suit to make to his Majesty ;
 " which was that the Lord *Digby* might Command in
 " Chief , and He under him." All who were present,
 stood amazed at what was now said ; of which , no
 word had passed in Council ; but when the Lord
Digby as frankly accepted of the Command , they
 concluded, that it had been concerted before between
 the King and the other Two.

No Man contradicted any thing that had been pro-
 posed ; and so immediately, upon the place, a short
 Commission was prepared, and Signed by the King,
 to constitute the Lord *Digby* Lieutenant-General of
 all the Forces raised, or to be raised for the King on
 the other side of *Trent* ; and with this Commission he
 immediately departed from the King, taking with
 him from the Rendezvous all the Northern Horse,
 with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sir *Richard Hutton*,
 High-Sheriff of *Yorkshire*, together with the Earls of
Carnewarthy, and *Niddisdale*, and several other *Scottish*
 Gentlemen : He marched in the head of fifteen hun-
 dred Horse ; and so in a moment became a General,
 as well as a Secretary of State ; and marched presently
 to *Doncaster*.

Because this Expedition was in a short time at an
 end, it will not be amiss to finish the relation in this
 place ; there being no occasion to resume it hereafter.
 The Lord *Digby* was informed at his being at *Don-*
caster, " that there was, in a Town two or three Miles
 " distant, and little out of the way of the next day's
 " march, one thousand Foot newly raised for the
 " Parliament ; " which he resolved, the next Morn-
 ing, to fall upon ; and did it so well, that they all

B O O K threw down their Arms, and disperſed; whereupon
IX. he proſecuted his march to a Town called *Sherborne*, where he ſtayed to reſreſh his Troops; and whiſt he ſtayed there, he had notice of the advance of ſome Troops of Horſe towards him, under the Command of Colonel *Copley*: *Digby* preſently Sounded to Horſe, and having gotten ſome few Troops ready. marched with them out of the Town; and finding *Copley* ſtanding upon a convenient ground, he would not ſtay for his other Companies, but immediately Charged them with that Courage, that he routed moſt of their Bodies; which, after a ſhort reſiſtance, Fled, and were purſued by his Horſe through *Sherborn*; where the other Troops were reſreſhing themſelves; who diſcerning the Flight of Horſe, in great Conſternation, concluded, that they were their own Fellows, who had been Routed by the Enemy; and ſo with equal conſuſion they mounted their Horſes, and Fled as faſt as the other, ſuch ways, as they ſeverally conceived to be moſt for their ſafety. By this means, a Troop that remained upon the Field unbroken, fell upon the Lord *Digby*, and thoſe Officers, and Gentlemen, who remained about him; who were compelled to make their retreat to *Skipton*; which they did with the loſs of Sir *Richard Hutton* (a gallant and worthy Gentleman, and the Son and Heir of a very Venerable Judge, a Man famous in his Generation) and two or three other Perſons; and with the loſs of the Lord *Digby's* Baggage; in which was his Cabinet of Papers; which, being publiſhed by the Parliament, adminiſtered afterwards ſo much occaſion of diſcourſe.

The Lord
Digby Routed
 at *Sherborne*
 in *Yorkſhire*.

At

At *Skipton*, most of the scattered Troops came together again, with which he marched, without any other misadventures, through *Cumberland* and *Westmoreland*, as far as *Dumfries* in *Scotland*; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where *Mountrose* was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the *Scottish* Army upon the Borders; in the highest despair, that Lord, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, the two Earls, and most of the other Officers, Embarked themselves for the Isle of *Man*; and, shortly after, for *Ireland*; where we shall leave them, all the Troops being left by them, to shift for themselves. Thus those fifteen hundred Horse which marched Northward, within very few days were brought to nothing; and the Generalship of the Lord *Digby*, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary accident of the flying of his own Troops, because the Enemy fled (as the greatest misfortunes which befel that Noble Person, throughout the whole course of his Life, usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attained to what he could wish) he had without doubt been Master of *York*, and of the whole North; the Parliament having no other Forces in all those parts, their Garrisons excepted, than those Foot which he first defeated, and those Horse which he had so near broken. The temper, and composition of his Mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own Virtue and Conduct, than broken or dejected that his Success was not answerable, which he still

B O O K charged upon second Causes, for which he thought himself not accountable.

IX.

When the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* left the King, his Majesty marched back to *Newark* with eight hundred Horse of his own Guards, and the Troops belonging to the Lord *Gerrard*; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befel the Northern Adventurers; upon which He concluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the place where he was, for by this time *Pointz* was come with all his Troops to *Nottingham*, and *Rossiter* with all the Force of *Lincolnshire* to *Grantham*; and all the power his Majesty had, was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them; so that he was only to watch an opportunity by the Darkeness of the Nights, and good Guides, to steal from thence to *Worcester*, or *Oxford*; in either of which he could only expect a little more time, and leisure to consider what was next to be done.

An account
of the Dis-
contents of
some of his
Chief Com-
manders
against the
King at
Newark.

But before his Majesty can leave *Newark*, he must undergo a new kind of Mortification from his Friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his Enemies; which, without doubt, he suffered with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince *Rupert* was now come to *Belvoir-Castle*, with his Brother Prince *Maurice*, and about one hundred and twenty Officers who attended him; with which he had sustained a charge from *Rossiter*, and broke through without any considerable loss. When the King heard of his being so near, he writ a Letter to him, by which “ he required him to stay at *Belvoir* “ till further Order; and reprehended him for not

“ having given obedience to his former Commands.” Notwithstanding this Command, he came the next day to *Newark*, and was met by the Lord *Gerrard*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, Governor of the Town, with one hundred Horse, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with this Train, he came to the Court; and found the King in the presence; and, without Ceremony, told his Majesty, “ that he was come to “ render an account of the loss of *Bristol*, and to clear “ himself from those imputations which had been “ cast upon him.” The King said very little to him; but, meat being brought up, went to Supper; and, during that time, asked some Questions of Prince *Maurice*, without saying any thing to the other. After he had Supped, he retired to his Chamber, without admitting any farther discourse; and the Prince returned to the Governor’s House, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how displeased soever, thought it necessary to hear what Prince *Rupert* would say, that he might with the more ease provide for his own escape from thence; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the Prince made with many protestations of “ his innocence, and how impossible it “ was long to defend the Fort, after the Line was “ entered.” His Majesty did not suspect his Nephew to have any Malicious design against his Service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumstances which had accompanied that Action; and therefore, after a day or two’s debate, caused a short Declaration to be drawn up, by which Prince *Rupert* was absolved and cleared from any Disloyalty, or

B O O K IX. Treason in the rendering of *Bristol*, but not of Indiscretion. So that matter was settled; upon which the King expected the Prince should have departed, as himself resolved to prosecute the means for his own escape, without communicating it to him.

The change of the posture of the Enemy, and *Pointz's* coming to the North-side of *Trent*, made his Majesty resolve to begin his march on the Sunday-Night, being the twentieth of *October*; which he imparted to none but two or three of the nearest trust. But the differences were grown so high between the Governor and the Commissioners (who were all the principal Gentlemen of the Country, and Who had with Courage and Fidelity adhered to the King from the beginning, and whose interest alone had preserved that place) and had been so much increased by the mutual Contests which had been between them in the presence of the King, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the Garrison, but by the removal of the Governor; which was so evident to the King, that he resolved on that expedient; and, on the Sunday-Morning, sent for Sir *Richard Willis* into his Bed-Chamber; and after many gracious expressions of "the Satisfaction he had received in his Service, and of the great abilities he had to serve him," he told him, "his own design to be gone that Night; and that he resolved to take him with him, and to make him Captain of his Horse-Guards, in the place of the Earl of *Lichfield*, who had been lately killed before *Chester*" (which was a Command fit for any Subject) "and that he would leave the Lord *Bellasis*

“ Governor of *Newark*, who being Allied to most
 “ of the Gentlemen of the adjacent Counties, and
 “ having a good Estate there, would be more accept-
 “ able to them.” His Majesty condescended so far,
 as to tell him, “ that he did not hereby give a judge-
 “ ment on the Commissioners side, who he declared
 “ had been to blame in many particulars; and that
 “ he himself could not have an ampler vindication,
 “ than by the honor and trust he now conferred upon
 “ him; but he found it would be much easier to
 “ remove Him, than to reform the Commissioners;
 “ who, being many, could not be any other way
 “ united in his Service.”

Sir *Richard Willis* appeared very much troubled;
 and excused the not taking the other command, “ as
 “ a place of too great Honor, and that his Fortune
 “ could not maintain him in that employment: he
 “ said, that his Enemies would triumph at his remo-
 “ val, and he should be looked upon as cast out, and
 “ disgraced.” The King replied, “ that he would
 “ take care, and provide for his Support; and that
 “ a man could not be looked upon as disgraced, who
 “ was placed so near his Person; which, he told him,
 “ he would find to be true, when he had thought a
 “ little of it.” So his Majesty went out of his Cham-
 ber, and presently to the Church. When he returned
 from thence, he sat down to dinner; the Lords, and
 other of his Servants, retiring likewise to their
 Lodgings. Before the King had dined, Sir *Richard*
Willis, with both the Princes, the Lord *Gerrard*, and
 about twenty Officers of the Garrison, entered into
 the presence-Chamber: *Willis* addressed himself to the

BOOK IX. King, and told him, "that what his Majesty had
 " said to him in private, was now the public Talk
 " of the Town, and very much to his Dishonor:"
 Prince *Rupert* said "that Sir *Richard Willis* was to
 " be removed from his Government, for no Fault
 " that he had committed, but for being His Friend:"
 the Lord *Gerard* added, "that it was the Plot of the
 " Lord *Digby* who was a Traytor, and he would
 " prove him to be so." The King was so surprised
 with this manner of behaviour, that he rose in some
 disorder from the Table, and would have gone into
 his Bed-Chamber, calling Sir *Richard Willis* to follow
 him; who answered aloud, "that he had received a
 " Public injury, and therefore that he expected a
 " Public satisfaction." This, with what had passed
 before, so provoked his Majesty, that, with greater
 indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he
 commanded them "to depart from his Presence, and
 " to come no more into it;" and this with such cir-
 cumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words,
 that They appeared no less confounded; and de-
 parted the Room, ashamed of what they had
 done; yet as soon as they came to the Governor's
 House, they Sounded to Horse, intending to be pre-
 sently gone.

The noise of this unheard of insolence, quickly
 brought the Lords who were absent, and all the
 Gentlemen in the Town, to the King, with expres-
 sions full of Duty, and a very tender sense of the
 usage he had endured. There is no doubt, he could
 have proceeded in what manner he would against
 the Offenders. But his Majesty thought it best, on

many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the Lord *Bellasis* to be Governor; who immediately betook himself to his Charge, and placed the Guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the Afternoon, a Petition and Remonstrance was brought to the King, signed by the two Princes, and about four-and-twenty Officers; in which they desired, "that Sir *Richard Willis* might receive a Trial by a Court of War; and if they found him faulty, then to be dismissed from his Charge; and that, if this might not be granted, they desired Passes for themselves, and as many Horse as desired to go with them." Withal, they said, "they hoped, that his Majesty would not look upon this Action of theirs as a Mutiny." To the last, the King said, "he would not now Christen it; but it looked very like one: As for the Court of War, he would not make that a judge of His Actions; but for the Passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have them." The next Morning the Passes were sent to them; and in the Afternoon they left the Town; being in all about two hundred Horse; and went to *Wyverton*, a small Garrison depending upon *Newark*; where they stayed some days; and from thence went to *Belvoir-Castle*; from whence they sent one of their Number to the Parliament, "to desire leave, and Passes, to go beyond the Seas."

Besides the exceeding trouble and vexation that this Action of his Nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence,

BOOK IX. gave the King, it had well nigh broke the design he had for his present escape; which was not possible to be executed at that time; and *Pointz* and *Rossiter* drew every day nearer, believing they had so encompassed him round, that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands. They had now Besieged *Shetford-House*, a Garrison belonging to *Newark*, and kept strong Guards between them and *Belvoir*, and stronger towards *Lichfield*, which was the way they most suspected his Majesty would incline to take; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that Labyrinth; but the King gave not himself over. He had fixed now his Resolution for *Oxford*, and sent a trusty Messenger thither with directions, that the Horse of that Garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between *Banbury* and *Daventry*. Then, upon *Monday*, the third of *November*, early in the Morning, he sent a Gentleman to *Belvoir-Castle*, to be informed of the true State of the Rebels-Quarters, and to advertise *Sir Gervas Lucas*, the Governor of that Garrison, of his Majesty's design to march thither that Night, with order that his Troops and Guides should be ready at such an hour; but with an express charge, "that he should not acquaint the Princes, or any of their Company, with it." That Gentleman being returned with very particular information, the resolution was taken "to march that very night," but not published till an hour after the shutting the Ports. Then order was given, "that all should be ready in the Market-place, at ten of the Clock;" and by that time the Horse were all there, and were in num-

ber between four and five hundred, of the Guards and of other loose Regiments; they were all there put in order; and every Man was placed in some Troop; which done, about eleven of the Clock, they began to march; the King himself in the head of his own Troop, marched in the middle of the whole Body. By three of the Clock in the Morning, they were at *Belvoir*; without the least interruption or alarm given. There Sir *Gervas Lucas*, and his Troops with good Guides were ready; and attended his Majesty till the break of day; by which time he was past those Quarters he most apprehended; but he was still to march between their Garrisons; and therefore made no delay, but marched all that day; passing near *Burleigh* upon the Hill, a Garrison of the Enemy, from whence some Horse waited upon the Rear, and took and killed some Men, who either negligently staid behind, or whose Horses were tired. Towards the Evening the King was so very weary, that he was even compelled to rest and sleep for the space of four hours, in a Village within eight miles of *Northampton*. At ten of the Clock that Night, they begun to march again; and were, before Day, the next Morning, past *Daventry*; and before Noon, came to *Banbury*, where the *Oxford*-Horse were ready, and waited upon his Majesty, and conducted him safe to *Oxford* that Day; so he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever King was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the Battle of *Naseby* to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the Spirits of any Man who had not been truly magnanimous. At

B O O K
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The King re-
creates towards
Oxford:

And arrives
there.

B O O K *Oxford*, the King found himself at rest, and ease to
IX. revolve, and reflect upon what was past, and to
 advise and consult of what was to be done, with
 Persons of entire devotion to him, and of steady
 Judgments; and presently after his coming thither,
 he writ that Letter of the seventh of *November*; and,
 shortly after, the other of the seventh of *December*;
 both which are mentioned before, and set down
 at large.

The King's
 Affairs in the
 West about
 this time.

The Prince of *Wales* did not enjoy so much rest
 and ease in His Quarters; for, upon the hurry of the
 Retreat of the Horse, which is mentioned before,
 and which indeed was full of confusion, very many
 of the Trained-bands of *Cornwal* broke loose, and
 run to their Houses, pretending "they feared that
 " the Horse would go into that County, and plunder
 " them;" for which fear they had the greater pre-
 tence, because, upon the Retreat, many Regiments
 had Orders from the Lord *Wentworth* to Quarter in
Cornwal; of which his Highness was no sooner adver-
 tised, than he sent his Orders positive, "that no one
 " Regiment of Horse should be there, but that they
 " should be all Quartered on the *Devon-side*." Upon
 that, they were dispersed about the County, for
 the space of thirty miles breadth, as if no Enemy
 had been within two days march of them. There
 were now drawn together, and to be engaged to-
 gether in one Action against the Enemy, all the Horse
 and Foot of the Lord *Goring*; the Command where-
 of, the Lord *Wentworth* challenged to himself by de-
 putation; the Horse and Foot of Sir *Richard Greenville*;
 and the Horse and Foot of General *Digby*, neither of

which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the Guards; which no body pretended to Command but the Lord *Capel*. When the Prince removed from *Tavistock*, the raising the Blockade from *Plymouth* was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a Council of War, “that it
 “ would be fit for his Highness to remove to *Launceston*; whither the Trained-bands, and the rest
 “ of the Foot should likewise come, and the Horse
 “ march on the *Devonshire*-side, and Quarter most
 “ conveniently in that County.” The care of the Retreat, and bringing the Provisions from *Tavistock*, was committed to Sir *Richard Greenvil*; which was performed by him so negligently, that besides the disorders he suffered in *Tavistock*, by the Soldiers, a great part of the Magazine of Victuals, and three or four hundred pair of Shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the Prince came to *Launceston*, Sir *Richard Greenvil* writ a Letter to him, wherein he represented “the impossibility of keeping that Army
 “ together, or fighting with it in the condition it
 “ was then in:” told him, “that he had, the night
 “ before, sent directions to Major-General *Harris*” (who commanded the Foot that came from about *Plymouth*) “to guard such a Bridge; but that he
 “ returned him word, that he would receive Orders
 “ from none but General *Digby*; that General *Digby*
 “ said, that he would receive Orders from none but
 “ his Highness; that a Party of the Lord *Wentworth*’s
 “ Horse had the same Night come into his Quarters,
 “ where his Troop of Guards, and his Firelocks
 “ were; that neither submitting to the Command of

BOOK " the other , they had fallen foul , and two or three
 IX. " Men had been killed ; that they continued still in
 " the same place, drawn up one against another ; that
 " it was absolutely necessary , his Highness should
 " constitute one Superior Officer , from whom all
 " those independent Officers might receive Orders ;
 " without which , it would not be possible for that
 " Army to be kept together , or do Service ; that for
 " His own part, he knew his Severity and Discipline
 " had rendered him so odious to the Lord *Goring's*
 " Horse , that they would sooner chuse to serve the
 " Enemy, than receive Orders from Him ; therefore
 " he desired his Highness to constitute the Earl of
 " *Brentford* , or the Lord *Hopton* , to Command in
 " Chief, and then he hoped , some good might be
 " done against the Enemy."

The mischief was more visible by much than a remedy ; it was evident some Action must be with the Enemy within few days , and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration , at such a conjuncture of time , was not hard to guess , when both Officer and Soldier were desirous to take any occasion , and to find any excuse to lay down their Arms ; and it was plain , though there were very few who could do good , there were enough that could do hurt ; besides , whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge , would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the Command of a dissolute , undisciplined , wicked , beaten Army , upon which he must engage his Honor , and the hope of what was left , without having time to reform , or instruct them. That which made the resolution

necessary, was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in Command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attended No-alteration; and they who were trusted might be accountable to the World, for not advising the Prince to do that, which, how hopeless soever, only remained to be done.

Thereupon, on the fifteenth of *January*, his Highness made an Order, "that the Lord *Hopton* should " take the Charge of the whole Army upon him; and " that the Lord *Wentworth* should Command all the " Horse, and Sir *Richard Greenvil* the Foot." It was a heavy imposition, I confess, upon the Lord *Hopton* (to the which nothing but the most abstracted Duty and Obedience could have Submitted) to take charge of those Horse whom only their Friends feared, and their Enemies laughed at; being only terrible in Plunder, and resolute in Running away. Of all the Trained-bands of *Cornwal*, there were not three hundred left; and those, by some insuflions from *Greenvil* and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected. The rest of the Foot (besides those who belonged to the Lord *Goring*, which were two Regiments of about four hundred) were the three Regiments of about six hundred, which belonged to Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and the Officers of them entirely His Creatures; and those belonging to General *Digby*, which were not above five hundred; To these were added (and were indeed the only Men, but a small Troop of his own of Horse and some Foot, upon whose affection, courage, and duty he could Rely; except some particular Gentlemen,

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The Lord
Hopton made
General of the
remains of the
western Army.
Lord Went-
worth to
Command
the Horse,
Greenvil the
Foot.

B O O K who could only undertake for themselves) about
IX. two hundred and fifty Foot, and eight hundred Horse
 of the Guards; who were Commanded by the Lord
Capel, and entirely to receive Orders from his
 Lordship.

The Lord *Hopton* very generously told the Prince,
 “ that it was a custom now, when Men were not
 “ willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to
 “ say, that it was against their Honor; that their
 “ Honor would not suffer them to do this or that;
 “ for His part, he could not obey his Highness at this
 “ time, without resolving to lose his Honor, which
 “ he knew he must, but since his Highness thought
 “ it necessary to Command him, he was ready to
 “ obey him with the loss of his Honor.” Since the
 making of this Order was concluded an Act of ab-
 solute necessity, and the Lord *Hopton* had so wor-
 thily Submitted to it, it was positively resolved by
 his Highness, “ that it should be dutifully Submitted
 “ to by all other Men; or that the Refusers should
 “ be exemplarily punished.” There was not the least
 suspicion that Sir *Richard Greenville* would not wil-
 lingly have Submitted to it, but it was believed that
 the Lord *Wentworth*, who had carried himself so high,
 and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than
 before, would have refused; which if he had done,
 it was resolved by the Prince presently to have com-
 mitted him, and to have desired the Lord *Capel* to
 have taken the charge of the Horse

His Highness sent Sir *Richard Greenville* a Letter of
 thanks, “ for the advice which he had given; and
 which, he said, he had followed, as by the inclosed

“ Order he might perceive ; by which his Highness
 “ had committed the care and charge of the whole
 “ Army to the Lord *Hopton*, appointing that the
 “ Lord *Wentworth* should Command all the Horse,
 “ and Sir *Richard Greenvil* all the Foot, and both to
 “ receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton* :” no Man
 imagining it possible that, besides that he had given
 the advice, he could have refused that Charge, by
 which he was to have a greater Command than
 ever he had before, and was to be commanded by
 none but by whom he had often been formerly com-
 manded. But the next day after he received that
 Letter and Order, contrary to all expectation, he
 writ to his Highness “ to desire to be excused, in
 “ respect of his indisposition of health ; expressing,
 “ that he could do him better service in getting up
 “ the Soldiers who straggled in the Country, and in
 “ suppressing Malignants ;” and at the same time,
 writ to the Lord *Colepepper*, “ that he could not con-
 “ sent to be commanded by the Lord *Hopton*.” It
 plainly appeared now, that his drift was to stay
 behind, and Command *Cornwal* ; with which, con-
 sidering the premises, the Prince thought he had no
 reason to trust him. He sent for him therefore, and
 told him “ the extreme ill consequence that would
 “ attend the public Service, if he should Then, and
 “ in such a manner, quit the Charge his Highness
 “ had committed to him ; that more should not be
 “ expected from him than was agreeable to his
 “ health ; and that if he took the Command upon
 “ him, he should take what Adjutants he pleased
 “ to assist him.” But notwithstanding all that the

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Prince could say to him, or such of his Friends who thought they had Interest in him, he continued obstinate; and positively refused to take the Charge, or to receive Orders from the Lord *Hopton*.

What should the Prince have done? for besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner contemned, at a time when that Army was so indisposed, it was very evident, if *Greenvil* were at liberty, and the Army once marched out of *Cornwal*, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented Party, and at least endeavoured to have hindered their retreat back into *Cornwal*, upon what occasion soever; and for the present that he would under-hand have kept many from marching with the Army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own Country. So that, upon full consideration, his Highness thought fit to commit him to Prison to the Governor of *Launceston*; and within two or three days after, sent him to the Mount; where he remained till the Enemy was possessed of the County; when his Highness, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to Transport himself beyond the Sea.

Sir R. Greenvil
refusing the
Command,
the Prince
commits him
to Prison.

The Lord *Wentworth*, though he seemed much surpris'd with the Order when he heard it read at the Board, and desired "time to consider of it till the
" next day, that he might confer with his Officers;
" yet, when the Prince told him, that he would not
" refer his Acts to be scanned by the Officers; but
" that he should give his positive Answer, whether
" he would submit to it, or no; and then his High-
" ness knew what he had to do;" he only desired

" to

“ to consider till the Afternoon; when he submitted;” and went that Night out of Town to his Quarters; of which most Men were not glad, but rather wished (since they knew he would never obey cheerfully) that he would have put the Prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the Intelligence was certain of the loss of *Dartmouth*, which added neither Courage, nor Numbers to our Men; and the importunity was such from *Exeter* for present relief, that there seemed even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the Lord *Hopton* resolved to march by the way of *Chimley*; that so, being between the Enemy and *Barnstable*, he might borrow as many Men out of the Garrison, as could be spared; and by strong Parties at least to attempt upon their Quarters. But it was likewise resolved, “ that in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and “ the general indisposition, to say no worse, both “ in Officer and Soldier, it would not be fit for his “ Highness to venture his own Person with the “ Army; but that he should retire to *Truro*, and “ reside there;” against which there were objections enough in view, which were however weighed down by greater.

Whoever had observed the temper of the Gentry of that County towards Sir *Richard Greenvil*, or the Clamor of the Common-People against his Oppression, and Tyranny, would not have believed, that such a necessary proceeding against him, at that time, could have been any Unpopular Act; there being

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scarce a day, in which some Petition was not presented against him. As the Prince passed through *Bodmin*, he received Petitions from the Wives of many substantial, and honest Men; amongst the rest, of the Mayor of *Lisliethiel*; who was very eminently well affected and useful to the King's Service; all whom *Greenvil* had committed to the Common-Goal, for presuming to Fish in that River; the Royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by Virtue of the Sequestration, granted him by the King, of the Lord *Roberts'* Estate at *Lamhetherick*; whereas they who were committed, pretended a Title, and had always used the liberty of Fishing in those Waters, as Tenants to the Prince of his Highness' Manor of *Lisliethiel*; there having been long Suits between the Lord *Roberts* and the Tenants of that Manor, for that Royalty. And when his Highness came to *Tavistock*, he was again Petitioned by many Women for the liberty of their Husbands, whom Sir *Richard* had committed to Prison, for refusing to grind at his Mill, "which, he said, they were bound by the Custom to do." So by his Martial Power he had Asserted whatever Civil-Interest he thought fit to lay claim to; and never discharged any Man out of Prison, till he absolutely submitted to his Pleasure.

There were in the Goal at *Launceston*, at this time when himself was committed, at least thirty Persons, Constables and other Men, whom he had committed, and imposed Fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of Delinquency (of which he was in no case a proper Judge) for the payment whereof they were detained in Prison.

Amongst the rest, was the Mayor of *St. Ives*, one *Hammond*, who had then the reputation of an honest Man; and was certified to be such by Colonel *Robinson* the Governor, and by all the Neighbouring-Gentlemen. After the late Insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his Bond to Sir *Richard Greenville*, of five hundred pound, to produce a young Man, who was then absent, and accused to be a favorer of that Mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the Man could be found; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the Mayor sent the Fellow to Sir *Richard Greenville*; That would not satisfy; but he sent his Marshal for the Mayor himself, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his Bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the Goal at *Launceston*. The Son of the Mayor presented a Petition to the Prince, at *Truro*, for his Father's liberty, setting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good Affection of the Man. The Petition was referred to Sir *Richard Greenville*, with direction, "that
 " if the case were in truth such, he should discharge
 " him." As soon as the Son brought this Petition to him, he put it in his Pocket; told him, "the Prince
 " understood not the business;" and committed the Son to Goal, and caused irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second Petition to the Prince, at *Launceston*, after the time that Sir *Richard* himself was committed, he directed the Lord *Hopton*,
 " upon examination of the truth of it, to discharge
 " the Man;" of which, when Sir *Richard* heard, he

B O O K IX. sent to the Goaler "to forbid him, at his peril, to discharge *Hammond*; threatening him "to make him pay the Money;" and, after that, caused an Action to be entered in the Town-Court at *Launceston* upon the forfeiture of the Bond. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he was no sooner committed by the Prince, than even those who had complained of him as much as any, expressed great trouble; and many Officers of those Forces which he had Commanded, in a Tumultuous manner, Petitioned for his release; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the People, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against Sir *Richard Greenville*; in which none were more forward, than some of the Prince's own Household-Servants; who were so tender of Him, that they forgot their duty to their Master.

It was *Friday* the sixth of *February*, before the Lord *Hopton* could move from *Launceston*, for want of Carriages for their Ammunition, and Provision of Victual. Neither had he then Carriages for above half their little Store, but relied upon the Commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to *Torrington*; where he resolved to fasten, till his Provisions could be brought up; and he might receive certain Intelligence of the Motion, and Condition of the Enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had Barricadoed, and made some little Fastnesses about the Town, when Sir *Thomas Fairfax* advanced to *Chimley*, within eight Miles of *Torrington*, with six thousand Foot, three thousand five hundred Horse, and five hundred Dra-

goons; of which so near advance of the Enemy B O O K
 (notwithstanding all the strict Orders for keeping of IX.
 Guards; whereof one Guard was, or was appointed
 to be, within two Miles of *Glimley*) he had not
 known but by a Lieutenant, who was accidentally
 plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them.
 So negligent, and unfaithful, were both Officers and
 Soldiers in their duty.

The Lord *Hopton* having this Intelligence of the The Lord
 Strength, and Neighbourhood of the Enemy, had Hopton's
 his Election of two things, either to retire into Forces routed
Cornwal, or to abide them where he was; the first, at Torrington by Sir
 besides the disheartening of his Men, seemed rather Thomas
 a deferring, than a preventing of any mischief that Fairfax.
 could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that
 great Body of Horse into *Cornwal*, the few that re-
 mained of the Trainbands, would immediately dis-
 solve, and run to their Houses; and the remainder
 of Horse and Foot, in a short time, be destroyed
 without an Enemy. Therefore he rather chose, not-
 withstanding the great disadvantage of Number in
 Foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the
 Enemy should attempt him in so fast a Quarter, he
 might defend himself with more advantage, than he
 could in any other place. So he placed his Guards,
 and appointed all Men to their Posts, having drawn
 as many Horse (such as on the sudden he could get)
 into the Town, as he thought necessary; the rest
 being ordered to stand on a Common, at the East-
 end of the Town. But the Enemy forced the Barri-
 cade in one place by the baseness of the Foot; with
 which the Horse in the Town more basely received

B O O K such a Fright, that they could neither be made to
 IX. Charge, nor Stand; but, in perfect confusion, run away; whose example all the Foot upon the Line, and at their other Posts, followed; leaving their General (who was hurt in the Face with a Pike, and his Horse killed under him) with two or three Gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the Officers publicly reporting, lest the Soldiers should not make haste enough in running away, "that he saw their General run through the Body with a Pike." The Lord *Hopton* recovering a fresh Horse, was compelled (being thus deserted by his Men) to retire; which he did, to the Borders of *Cornwal*; and stayed at *Stratton* two or three days, till about a thousand or twelve hundred of his Foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelihood of making any stand against the Enemy with such Foot, and that it was visible that Body of Horse could not long subsist in *Cornwal*, whether the Horse might not break through to *Oxford*; which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three Days and Nights in the Field, and the Enemies strength being drawn up within two Miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides (that there was at that time a confident assurance, by an Express (Sir *D. Wyat*) out of *France*, "of four or five thousand Foot to come from thence within three Weeks, or a Month at farthest;" those Letters, and the Messenger, averring, "that most of the Men were ready, when He came away."

The Enemy advanced to *Stratton*, and so to *Launceston*; where Mr. *Edgecomb*, who had always

pretended to be of the King's Party, with his Regiment of Trained-bands, joined with them; and the Lord *Hopton* retired to *Bodmin*; the Horse, Officers and Soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict Orders, very negligently performing their duty; insomuch as the Lord *Hopton* protested, "that, from the time
" he undertook the Charge, to the hour of their
" dissolving, scarce a Party or Guard appeared with
" half the Number appointed, or within two hours
" of the time;" and *Goring's* Brigade, having the Guard upon a Down near *Bodmin*, drew off without Orders, and without sending out a Scout; insomuch as the whole gross of the Rebels, were at day-time marched within three Miles, before the Foot in *Bodmin* had any notice. So that the Lord *Hopton* was instantly forced to draw off his Foot and Carriages Westward; and kept the Field that cold Night, being the first of *March*; but could not, by all his Orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable Body of Horse to him by the end of the next day; they having Quartered themselves at pleasure over the Country, many above twenty Miles from *Bodmin*, and many running to the Enemy; and others purposely staying in their Quarters, till the Enemy came to dispossess them.

When by the disorders and distractions of the Army, which are before set down, his Highness was persuaded to make his own Residence in *Cornwal*, he came to *Truro* on the 12th day of *February*; where he received a Letter from the King, directed to those four of the Council who had Signed that to his

B O O K Majesty at *Tavistock*. This Letter was dated at *Oxford*
IX. the fifth of *February*, and contained these words;

“ Yours from *Tavistock* hath fully satisfied me,
“ why my Commands concerning Prince *Charles*
“ his going beyond Sea were not obeyed. And I
“ likewise agree with you in opinion, that he is
“ not to go until there be an evident necessity; also
“ approving very much of the Steps whereby you
“ mean to do it. But withal, I re-iterate my Com-
“ mands to you for the Prince’s going over, when-
“ soever there shall be a visible hazard of his falling
“ into the Rebels hands. In the mean time, I like
“ very well that he should be at the head of the
“ Army; and so much the rather, for what I shall
“ now impart to you of my resolution, &c.” And so
proceeded in the Communication of his own design
of taking the Field; which was afterwards frustrated
by the defeat of my Lord *Astley*, and the ill success
in the West.

The Prince
goes to Pen-
dennis.

The Prince having staid some days at *Truro*,
went to *Pendennis*; intending only to recreate him-
self for two or three days; and to quicken the
Works, which were well advanced; his Highness
having issued all the Money he could procure, to-
wards the finishing of them. But, in the very Mor-
ning that he meant to return to *Truro*, his Army
being then retired, and *Fairfax* at the edge of *Corn-
wal*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Lord *Cape* sent Ad-
vertisements, “ that they had severally received In-
“ telligence of a design to seize the Person of the
“ Prince; and that many Persons of Quality of the
“ Country were privy to it.” Hereupon the Prince

thought it most convenient to stay where he was, and so returned no more to *Truro*. The time of apparent danger was now in view, and if there were in truth any design of seizing the Prince's Person, they had reason to believe that some of his own Servants were not strangers to it. The Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* being at the Army; only the Prince, the Lord *Colepepper*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knew the King's Pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they should have Reputation enough to go through with it; the Earl of *Berkshire* continuing very jealous of the design of going into *France*, whatever they said to the contrary: The Governor of the Castle was Old and Fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his Son, though a gallant Gentleman, and worthy of any Trust, had little Credit with his Father.

There was no Letter from the King (though they had long before desired such a one, and proposed the Form) fit to be publicly showed, in which there were not some Clauses which would have been applied to his Majesty's disservice; especially if he should have been at *London*, which was then confidently averred by some, who swore "they met him at *Uxbridge*. Therefore these two Counsellors concluded, "that the Prince's going away must seem "to be the effect of Counsel upon necessity, and "the appearance of danger to his Person, without "any mention of the King's Command." But how to procure this Resolution from the Council was the difficulty. They very well knew the Lords

B O O K IX. minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected: In the end, having advised *Baldwin Wake*, to cause the Frigate belonging to *Hafdunch*, and the other Ships, to be ready upon an hour's warning; they proposed in Council, when the Lords *Berkshire*, and *Brentford* were present, "to send Mr. *Fanshaw* " to the Army, to receive the opinion and advice " of the Lords that were there, what was best to " be done with reference to the Person of the Prince, " and whether it were fit to hazard him in *Penden-* " *nis*;" which was accordingly done. Their Lordships, according to the former agreement between them, returned their advice, "that it was not fit to " adventure his Highness in that Castle (which " would not only not preserve his Person, but probably, by his stay there, might be lost; but by " his absence might defend itself) and that he should " remove to *Jersey* or *Scilly*." This, upon Mr. *Fanshaw's* report, was unanimously consented to by the whole Council.

But because *Jersey* was so near to *France*, and so might give the greater umbrage, and that *Scilly* was a part of *Cornwal*, and was by them all conceived a place of unquestionable strength, the public Resolution was for *Scilly*, it being in their power, when they were at Sea, to go for *Jersey*, if the Wind was fair for one, and cross to the other. So the Resolution being imparted to no more that Night, than was of absolute necessity (for we apprehended clamor from the Army, from the Country, and from that Garrison in whose Power the Prince was) the next Morning,

being *Monday*, the second of *March*, after the News was come that the Army was retiring from *Bodmin*, and the Enemy marching furiously after, and thereby Men were sufficiently awakened with the apprehension of the Prince's Safety; the Governor and his Son were called into the Council, and made acquainted with the Prince's Resolution, "that Night to Embark himself for *Scilly*, being a part of *Cornwal*; from whence, by such aids and relief, as he hoped he should procure from *France* and Foreign parts, he should be best able to relieve them." And accordingly, that Night, about ten of the Clock, he put himself on Board; and on *Wednesday* in the Afternoon, arrived safe in *Scilly*; from whence, within two days, the Lord *Colepepper* was sent into *France*, to acquaint the Queen "with his Highness' being at *Scilly*; with the Wants and Incommodities of that place; and to desire supply of Men and Monies for the Defence thereof, and the Support of his own Person;" it being agreed in Council, before the Lord *Colepepper*'s going from *Scilly*, "that if, upon advancement of the Parliament-Fleet, or any other apparent danger, his Highness should have cause to suspect the security of his Person there" (the strength of the place in no degree answering expectation, or the fame of it) "he would immediately Embark himself in the same Frigate (which attended there) "and go to *Jersey*."

B O O K
IX.

Thence by Sea
to *Scilly*.

When the Lord *Hopton* found that he could put no restraint to the Licence of the Soldiers, he called a Council of War to consider what was to be done. The principal Officers of Horse were so far from con-

B O O K IX. **I** considering any Means to put their Men in order, and heart to face the Enemy, that they declared in plain *English*, “ that their Men would never be brought to Fight; and therefore proposed positively, to send for a Treaty:” From which not one Officer dissented, except only Major-General *Web*, who always professed against it. The Lord *Hopton* told them, “ it was a thing he could not consent to without express leave from the Prince (who was then at *Pendennis-Castle*) to whom he would immediately despatch away an Express;” hoping, that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the Officers to a better Resolution; or that, by the advance of the Enemy, they would be compelled to Fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own Men; for many, both Officers and Soldiers, went every day in to them) a Trumpet arrived from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with a Letter to the Lord *Hopton*, offering a Treaty, and making some Propositions to the Officers and Soldiers. His Lordship Communicated not this Letter to above one or two, of principal Trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejectedness, to make it public. Hereupon, all the principal Officers assemble together (except the Major-General, *Web*) and expressing much discontent that they might not see the Letter, declare peremptorily to the Lord *Hopton*, “ that if he would not consent to it, they were resolved to Treat themselves.” And from this time they neither kept Guards, nor performed any Duty; Their Horse every day mingling with those of the Enemy, without any Act of Hostility. In

this strait, the Lord *Hopton* having sent his Ammunition and Foot into *Pendennis*, and the Mount, and declared, "that he would neither Treat for himself nor the Garrisons," he gave the Horse leave to Treat; and thereupon those Articles were concluded, by which that Body of Horse was dissolved; and Himself and the Lord *Capel*, with the first Wind, went from the Mount to *Scilly*, to attend his Highness; who, as is said, was gone thither from *Pendennis-Castle*, after the Enemies whole Army was entered *Cornwal*.

B O O K
IX.

The Lord Hopton's Army dissolved.

Having left the Prince in *Scilly*, so near the end of that unprosperous year 1645 (for it was upon the three-and-twentieth of *March*) that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave *Cornwal*, it will be necessary to inform the Reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in a former Book, what proceedings had been at *Oxford* against Duke *Hamilton*; and how he had been first sent Prisoner to *Bristol*, and from thence to *Pendennis-Castle* in *Cornwal*. And since we shall hereafter find him acting a great part for the King, and General in the Head of a great Army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in *Cornwal* without so much as naming him, to leave Men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtained his Liberty; which he employed afterwards with so much Zeal for the King's Service to the loss of his Life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many Honest Men, from all those Jealousies and Aspersions, he had long suffered under; but the proceeding that had been against

Touching
Duke Hamilton Prisoner at
Pendennis.

BOOK

1K.

him at *Oxford*, was looked upon by many as void of that Justice and Policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long Imprisonment, how much he might have done more Successfully, if he had never been restrained. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he Suffered, ought, in great measure, to free his Memory from any Reproaches for the Errors, or Weakness, of which he had before been guilty. What were the Motives, and Inducements of his Commitment, have been at large set down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to set down how he came at last to be possessed of his Liberty, and why he obtained it no sooner, by other more gracious ways from the King; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen, that he must be, in a short time, at Liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

When the Prince first visited *Cornwal*, to settle his own Revenue of that Dutchy; which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the King's Service, upon many emergent occasions; he spent some days at *Truro*, to settle his duty upon the Tin, by Virtue of his ancient Privilege of Pre-emption. And in that time, which was about the end of *July*, the Governor of *Pendennis*-Castle invited him to dine there; which his Highness willingly accepted, that he might take a full View of the Situation and Strength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compelled to resort thither. Every Man knew well that Duke *Hamilton* was then a Prisoner there, and therefore it

was to be considered, what the Prince was to do, if the Duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand. And it was resolved without dispute, “ that the Prince was not to admit such a Person into his Presence, who stood so much in his Father’s displeasure, and was committed to Prison by him; and that none of the Council, or of his Highness’ Servants, should visit, or enter into any kind of correspondence with him.” Thereupon the Governor was advised, in regard the Accommodations in the Castle were narrow, “ that during the time the Prince was in the Castle, the Duke should be removed out of his Chamber into one of the Soldier’s Houses;” which was done accordingly. This the Duke took very heavily, lamenting “ that he might not be admitted to see the Prince;” and had a desire to have conferred with the Lord *Colepepper*, or the Chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him in. He afterwards renewed the same desire to them both by his Servant Mr. *Hamilton*. Hereupon, when the Chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the Ports of *Padflow*, the Mount, and *Pendennis*, which was about the middle of *August* (the business being, under that disguise, to provide for the Prince’s Transportation, when it should be necessary) the Prince referred it to him “ to see the Duke, if he found it convenient.” When he came to *Pendennis*, and was to stay there necessarily some days, he was informed, “ that the Duke came always abroad to Meals, and that at that time all Men spoke freely with him :” So that, either he was to be made a close Prisoner by his being there,

B O O K
IX

or they were to meet at Supper and Dinner. The Governor then asked him, " whether the Duke " should come abroad. The Chancellor had neither Authority nor Reason to make any alteration; therefore he told him, " he knew his own " course, which he presumed he would observe " whoever came; and that if the Duke pleased, he " would wait upon him in his Chamber. to kiss his " hands before Supper;" the which he did.

When the Duke, after some Civilities to him whom he had long known, and some Reproaches to the Governor, who was present, " of his very strict " usage and carriage towards him;" which, he said he believed he could not justify (whereas the Chancellor well knew, that the Governor was absolutely governed by him) spoke to him of his own condition, and of " his Misfortune to fall into his Majesty's displeasure, having giving him any Offence." He told him, " that he had very much desired to speak " with him, that he might make a Proposition to " him, which he thought for the King's Service; " and he desired, if it seemed so to Him, that he " would find means to recommend it to his Majesty, " and to procure his acceptance of it." Then he told him, " that he was an absolute Stranger to the Affairs " of both Kingdoms, having no other Intelligence, " than what he received from Gentlemen whom he " met in the next Room at Dinner; but he believed, " by his Majesty's late loss at *Naseby*, that his condition in *England* was very much worse than his " Servants hoped it would have been; and therefore, " that it might concern him to transact his business in
Scotland

“ Scotland as soon as might be: that he knew not in
“ what state the Lord *Mountrose* was in that King-
“ dom, but he was persuaded that he was not with-
“ out opposition.” He said, “ he was confident that
“ if he himself had his liberty, he could do the King
“ considerable Service, and either incline that Nation
“ powerfully to mediate a Peace in *England*; or po-
“ sitively to declare for the King, and join with
“ *Mountrose*.” He said, “ he knew, it was believed
“ by many, that the Animosity was so great from
“ him to *Mountrose*, who indeed had done him very
“ causeless injuries, that he would rather meditate
“ Revenge than concur with him in any Action;
“ but, he said, he too well understood his own
“ danger, if the King and Monarchy were destroyed
“ in this Kingdom, to think of Private Contention
“ and matters of Revenge, when the Public was so
“ much at Stake. And he must acknowledge, how
“ unjust soever the Lord *Mountrose* had been to him,
“ he had done the King great Service;” and therefore
protested with many Asseverations, “ he should join
“ with him in the King’s behalf, as with a Brother;
“ and if he could not win his own Brother from the
“ other Party, he would be as much against Him.
“ He said, he could not apprehend that his Liberty
“ could be any way prejudicial to the King; for he
“ would be a Prisoner still upon his Parole; and
“ would engage his Honor, that if he found he could
“ not be able to do his Majesty that acceptable Ser-
“ vice, which he desired (of which he had not the
“ least doubt) he would speedily return, and render
“ himself a Prisoner again in the place where he then

BOOK IX. "was." In this discourse he made very great professions, and expressions of his Devotion to the King's Service, of his Obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had, in this particular, of being useful to his Majesty.

After he made some pause, in expectation of what the Chancellor would say, the Chancellor told him, "he doubted not but he was very able to serve the King both in that and in this Kingdom; there being very many in both who had a principal dependence upon him: that he heard the King was making some Propositions to the *Scottish Army in England*, and that it would be a great instance of his Affection and Fidelity to the King, if by any Message from him to his Friends, and Dependents in the *Scottish Army* then before *Hereford*, or to his Friends in *Scotland*, his Brother being the head or prime Person of Power there that opposed *Montrose*, they should declare for the King, or appear willing to do him Service; and that he having free liberty to send, through the Parliament's Army, to *London*, or into *Scotland*, he might as soon do the King this Service, as receive a Warrant for his enlargement; which, he presumed, he knew could not be granted but by the King himself."

The Duke replied, "that he expected that Answer, but that it was not possible for him to do any thing by Message or Letter, or any way but by his Presence: First, that they, in whom he had interest, would look upon any thing he should write, or any Message he should send, as the result of distress and compulsion, not of his affection or judgment.

“ Besides, he said, he looked upon himself as very
 “ odious to that Nation, which was irreconciled to
 “ him for his zeal to the King. and thought this a
 “ just judgment of God upon him for not adhering
 “ to them. And, he said, for his own Brother, who
 “ he heard indeed had the greatest influence upon
 “ their Counsels, he had no reason to be confident
 “ in him, at that distance; for, besides the extreme
 “ injury he had done him, in making an escape from
 “ *Oxford*, by which both their innocencies were
 “ made to be suspected, and for which he should
 “ never forgive him, he was the Heir of the House
 “ and Family; and he believed, would be content
 “ that himself should grow old and die in Prison:
 “ whereas, if he were at liberty, and amongst them,
 “ he was confident some for love, and others for fear,
 “ would stick to him; and he should easily make it
 “ appear to those who were fiercest against the King,
 “ that it concerned their own interest to support the
 “ King in his just power. However, he concluded,
 “ that the worst that could come was his returning to
 “ Prison, which he would not fail to do.” So the
 discourse ended for that Night.

The next day the Duke entered again into the
 same Argument, with much earnestness, that the
 Chancellor would interpose, upon that ground, for
 his liberty; who told him, “ that he was so ill a
 “ Courtier, that he could not dissemble to him: that
 “ he was not satisfied with his Reasons, and could
 “ not but believe, he had interest enough, at that
 “ distance, to make some real demonstration of his
 “ Affection to the King, by the impression he might

B O O K “ make upon his Dependents and Allies : and there-
IX. “ fore that he could not offer any advice to the King,
“ to the purpose he desired.” He told him, “ that
“ he had been present at the Council-Table when
“ the King Communicated that business, which con-
“ cerned him, to the Board ; and that he gave his
“ opinion fully, and earnestly, for his Commitment ;
“ being satisfied, upon the Information that was
“ given concerning him, that his Affection to the
“ King was very Questionable ; and that it appeared,
“ that he had been earnestly pressed by those Persons
“ of Honor in that Kingdom, upon whom his Ma-
“ jesty relied, to declare himself ; and that if he could
“ have been induced so to do, having promised the
“ King he would, and having Authority to that pur-
“ pose from him, they might very easily have sup-
“ pressed that Rebellion in the bud : but that his
“ Lordship and his Brother, were so far from oppos-
“ ing it, that the very Proclamation which had
“ issued out there for the general Insurrection (which
“ Proclamation was perused at Council-Table, when
“ he was committed) was not only set forth in his
“ Majesty’s own Name, but Sealed with his Signet ;
“ which was then in the Custody of the Earl of
“ *Lanrick* his Brother, he being Secretary of State in
“ that Kingdom. That those who were the principal
“ Informers against him, and who professed that they
“ could do no Service, if he were at liberty, now
“ since his restraint, being armed with no more Au-
“ thority than he had, at his last being there, when
“ the Kingdom was in Peace, had, upon all disad-
“ vantages imaginable, when that Kingdom was

“ totally lost to the King, reduced the greatest part
 “ of it again to his obedience; and therefore, whe-
 “ ther it was his Lordship’s Misfortune, or his Fault,
 “ since things prospered so well in his absence, he
 “ could not as a Counsellor, advise the King, without
 “ the privity and consent of the Lord *Mountrose*, or
 “ without some such Testimony of his Service, as
 “ he had before proposed, to give him his Liberty:
 “ and that any ill success, which possibly might have
 “ no relation to that Act, would yet be imputed to
 “ that Counsel; and the Lord *Mountrose* have at
 “ least a just, or probable excuse, for any thing that
 “ should happen amiss.”

The Duke thanked him for the freedom he had
 used towards him; and said, “ upon the Information
 “ which was given against him, he must acknowledge
 “ the proceedings to be very just; but he was con-
 “ fident, whenever he should be admitted to a fair
 “ hearing, he should appear very innocent from the
 “ Allegations which had been given. He said, he
 “ had never made the least promise to the King,
 “ which he had not exactly performed; that he had
 “ not Authority or Power to cross any thing that
 “ was done to the prejudice of the King; and there-
 “ fore to have made any such Attempt, or Declara-
 “ tion, as some Lords had desired, in that conjunc-
 “ ture of time, had been to have destroyed themsel-
 “ ves to no purpose: and therefore, he made haste to
 “ the King with such Propositions, and Overtures,
 “ that he was confident, if he had been admitted to
 “ have spoken with his Majesty, at his coming to
 “ *Oxford*, he should have given good satisfaction in

BOOK " them; and then intended immediately to have re-
 IX. " turned into *Scotland*, with such Authority and
 " Countenance, as the King could well have given
 " him; and doubted not but to have prevented any
 " inconveniences from that Kingdom: but that by
 " his Imprisonment (which he could have prevented,
 " for he had notice upon his Journey, what was in-
 " tended, and trusted so much in his innocence, that
 " he would not avoid it) all those designs failed.
 " For his Brother he could say nothing; but he be-
 " lieved him an Honest Man; and for the proceed-
 " ings of the Lord *Mountrose* though he had received
 " good assistance from *Ireland*, which was a good
 " Foundation, he could not but say, it had been little
 " less than miraculous: However, he presumed the
 " work was not so near done there, but that His
 " Assistance might be very seasonable." After this
 they spoke often together; but this was the substance
 and result of all; he insisting upon his present Liberty,
 and the other as pressing, that he would write to his
 Friends. Yet the Chancellor promised him " to pre-
 " sent, by the first convenience, his Suit and Pro-
 " position to the King;" which he shortly after did
 in a Letter to the Lord *Digby*.

Upon the first news of the loss of the Battle of
Naseby, it was enough foreseen, that the Prince him-
 self might be put to a retreat to *Pendennis-Castle*.
 Therefore they wished, " that it might be in the
 " Prince's power, upon an emergent occasion, to
 " remove the Duke from that place." Which consi-
 deration the Lord *Colepepper* presented to the King,
 at his being with him in *Wales*; and thereupon a

Warrant was sent from the King, for the removal of the Duke to *Scilly*; which was likewise foreseen that the Prince might repair to. As the Enemy drew nearer the West, many good Men were very solicitous, that the Duke should be removed from *Pendennis*, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the Governor; of which there was so universal a suspicion, that many Letters were writ to the Council, "that if he were not speedily disposed to some other place, they feared the Castle would be betrayed:" and Sir *Richard Greenvil* writ earnestly to the Prince about it, as did Sir *Harry Killigrew* (a Person of entire Affections to the King, and a true Friend of the Governor) very importunately. So that about the Month of *November*, the King's Warrant for his removal was sent to Sir *Arthur Bassel*, Governor of the Mount; who went to *Pendennis* in the Morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to *Scilly*, when the time should require it; the Duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending, "that he could not ride for the Stone" (of which he complained so much, that he had Petitioned the King for leave to go into *France* to be cut) and the Governor, and all that Family and Garrison, made show of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that People of his Integrity and Innocence. But when the Duke saw there was no Remedy, he mounted a Horse that was provided for him, and passed the Journey very well.

Duke Hamilton is removed to the Mount.

After the loss of *Dartmouth*, some Persons of near trust about the Prince resumed the discourse again of

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enlarging the Duke, and believed that he would be able to do the King great Service in the business of *Scotland*; and this prevailed so far with one of the Lords of the Council, that, upon the confidence of Dr. *Frazier*, the Prince's Physician, he made a Journey with the Dr. to the Mount; and did think, that he had so much prevailed with the Duke, that he had consented "to send a Servant speedily to the *Scottish* Army in *England* (who should likewise pass by the King, and carry any Letters to his Majesty from the Prince) to persuade them to comply with the King; and that he would likewise despatch *Charles Murray* into *Scotland*, instructed to his Brother *Lanrick*, and that Party, to oblige them to join with *Mountrose*. But Dr. *Frazier* confessed to those he trusted, that the Duke rather consented to it to satisfy that Lord's vehemence and importunity, than that he had any great hope of success by it; insisting still, that nothing but his own Liberty would do it:" for which he gave a reason, that before had never been heard of, and was very contrary to what the Duke had said to the Chancellor, which was, "that the State of *Scotland* was so sensible of the injury done to the Duke by his imprisonment (which he had said before that they were very glad of) that they had made an Order, that there should never be a Treaty with the King, or agreeing with *Mountrose*, till he was at Liberty, or brought to a legal Trial." And when *Charles Murray* went to him for his instructions, though he said much for him to say again to his Friends, and his Brother, towards their declaring for the King, he discouraged him much

as to the Journey, representing to him “his own danger, and the strict Orders that were in Scotland against divisive Motions; of which, he said, he feared this would be taken for one.”

This made the Council to have no mind to be engaged in any Treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his Liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, but also that they believed, if he were not sincere, he would do much mischief; and the more for being in any degree trusted; if he were sincere, that he would be able to do more good for the King, by being redeemed out of Prison by the Enemy, than by being released by the King or Prince. And therefore, when the Prince removed in that haste and disorder from *Pendennis* to *Scilly*, there was no possibility of removing him; so that, at the surrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much sooner than they had reason to do it, when they were able to defend themselves for many Months, he was enlarged, and removed himself to *London* by speedy Journies on Horseback; and did never after complain of the Stone; which he before protested “would kill him, if he were not cut within a year.”

We left the King in *Oxford*, free from the trouble and uneasiness of those perpetual and wandering Marches, in which he had been so many Months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful Counsellors and Servants, whose Affection and Loyalty had first engaged them in his Service, and made them stick to him to the end; and who, if they

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Upon the Surrender of the Mount he obtained his Liberty.

The King's transactions at Oxford.

B O O K were not able to give him assistance, to stem that
IX. mighty Torrent that overbore both Him and Them, paid him still the Duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some Garrisons remaining in his Obedience, which were like, during the Winter-Season, to be preserved from any attempt of the Enemy. But upon the Approach of Spring, if the King should be without an Army in the Field, the Fate of those few places was easier to be discerned. And which way an Army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be raised, was not within the compass of the wisest Man's comprehension. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigor was to be applied in the attempt. *Worcester*, as it was Neighbouring to *Wales*, had the greatest Outlet and Elbow-room; and the Parliament-party that had gotten any Footing there, behaved themselves with that Insolence and Tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon which prospect, and some invitation, the King sent the Lord *Astley* (whom he had before, at his being at *Cardiff*, constituted Governor of those Parts, in the place of the Lord *Gerrard*) to *Worcester*, with order "to proceed, as he should find himself
 " able, towards the gathering a Body of Horse to-
 " gether, against the Spring, from those Garrisons
 " which were left, and from *Wales*:" and what progress he made towards it will be soon known.

When a full prospect, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might

with any color of reason be entertained; all that occurred, appeared so hopeless and desperate, that it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient, that had been found as desperate as any; which was a new Overture for a Treaty of Peace: for which, they who advised it, had no other reason, but that they could not tell what else to do. *Cromwell* had left *Fairfax* in the West, and with a Party Selected had set down before *Basing*, and his imperious Summons having been rejected, he Stormed the Place and took it, and put most of the Garrison to the Sword: a little before *Winchester* had surrendered upon easy conditions. The lesser Garrisons in the North, which had stood out till now, were rendered every day; and the *Scottish* Army, which had marched as far as their own Borders, was called back, and required to Besiege *Newark*. So that whoever thought the sending to the Parliament (puffed up and swollen with so many Successes) for a Peace, would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpose. This reflection alone prevailed with the King, who had enough experimented those inclinations, to refer entirely to the Council, “to chuse any expedient, they thought most probable to succeed, and to prepare any Message they would advise his Majesty to send to the Parliament.” And when they had considered it, the Overtures he had already made, by two several Messages, to which he had received no Answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them; but concluded, “that this Message should contain nothing but a resentment of That,

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Cromwell
took *Win-*
chester and
sacking.

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The King
sends another
Message for
Peace, which
was laid aside
by the Houses.

“ and a demand of an Answer to the Messages his Majesty had formerly sent for a Treaty of Peace.”

This Message had the same entertainment which the former had received. It was received, read, and then laid aside without any Debate; which they who wished well to it, had not credit or courage to advance; yet still found means to convey their advice to *Oxford*, “ that the King should not give over that “ importunity :” and they who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, “ that the “ neglecting those gracious invitations, made by “ his Majesty for Peace, would shortly make the “ Parliament so odious, that they would not dare “ long to continue in the same obstinacy.” The *Scots* were grieved and enraged, to see their Idol Presbytery so undervalued, and slighted, that besides, the Independents power in the City, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost Credit and Authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a Treaty for Peace: and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the King’s Power, were now much more afraid of their own Army, than ever they had been of His Authority; and believed, that if a Treaty were once set on foot, it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it ineffectual: or whatever they believed themselves, they conveyed this to some about the King, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wish well: And some Men took upon them to send the subject of what Message the King should send, and clothed in such expressions, as they conceived were like to gain ground; which his Majesty

could not but graciously accept; though he very seldom imitated their Style.

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After the King had long expected an Answer to his last Message, induced by those and the like reasons above mentioned, he sent again to the Parliament, "that they would send a Safe-Conduct for the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton, Mr.

His Majesty sends again for a Safe-Conduct for the Duke of Richmond and others.

John Asburnham, and Mr. Geoffrey Palmer; by whom he would make such particular Propositions to them as he hoped would produce a Peace."

To this they returned an Answer, such as it was, "that it would be inconvenient, and might be of

Their Answer.

dangerous consequence, to admit those Lords and Gentlemen to come into their Quarters; but that they were preparing some Propositions, which, when finished, should be sent to his Majesty in Bills, to be Signed by him; which would be the only way to produce a Peace." The King understood well what such Bills would contain, and which when he had granted, he should have nothing left to deny; and therefore liked not, that such conclusions should be made without a Treaty. He resolved once more to try another way, which having been never yet tried, he believed they could not deny; and if granted, what hazard soever his Person should be in, he should discover, whether he had so many Friends in the Parliament, and the City, as many Men would persuade him to conclude; and whether the Scots had ever a thought of doing him Service.

He sent to them, towards the end of December, "that since all other Overtures had proved ineffectual, He desired to enter into a Personal Treaty

The King sends to desire a Personal Treaty at Westminster

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“ with the two Houses of Parliament at *Westminster*,
 “ and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, upon all matters which might conduce to
 “ the Peace and Happiness of the distracted King-
 “ doms ; and to that purpose his Majesty would
 “ come to *London*, or *Westminster*, with such of his
 “ Servants as now attended him, and their followers,
 “ not exceeding in the whole the Number of three
 “ hundred Persons, if he might have the engagement
 “ of the two Houses of Parliament, the Commis-
 “ sioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*, of the Chief-
 “ Commanders in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*’s Army, and of
 “ those of the *Scottish* Army, for his Free and Safe
 “ coming to, and abode in *London*, or *Westminster*,
 “ for the space of forty days ; and after that time,
 “ for his Free and Safe repair to *Oxford*, *Worcester*,
 “ or *Newark*, if a Peace should not be concluded :
 “ For their better encouragement to hope well from
 “ this Treaty, his Majesty offered to settle the Mili-
 “ tia in such Persons as should be acceptable to them.”

Their Answer.

This Message indeed awakened them, and made them believe that the Gamesters who were to play this Game, looked into their hands, and hoped to find a Party in their own Quarters ; and that if they should neglect to send an Answer to this Message, their Silence might be taken for consent, and that they should quickly hear the King was in *London* ; which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than ordinary haste, to let his Majesty know, “ that
 “ there had been no delay on their parts ; but for
 “ the Personal Treaty desired by his Majesty, after
 “ so much Innocent Blood shed in the War by his

“ Commands, and Commissions” (with the men- B O O K
 tion of many other odious particulars) “ they con- IX.
 ceived, that until Satisfaction and Security were
 first given to both Kingdoms, his Majesty’s coming
 thither could not be convenient, nor by them
 assented to; nor did they apprehend it a means
 conducing to Peace, to accept of a Treaty for few
 days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning
 to Hostility again.” They observed, “ that his
 Majesty desired the engagement, not only of the
 Parliament, but of the Chief-Commanders in Sir
 Thomas Fairfax’s Army, and those of the *Scottish*
 Army; which, they said, was against the Privi-
 lege and Honor of Parliament, to have those joined
 with them, who were Subject and Subordinate to
 their Authority.” They renewed what they had
 said in their last Answer, “ that they would shortly
 send some Bills to his Majesty, the signing of which
 would be the best way to procure a good, and a
 safe Peace.”

Though the King was not willing to acquiesce The King
 with this stubborn rejection, but sent Message upon sends again.
 Message still to them for a better Answer, and at
 last offered “ to dismantle all his Garrisons, and so
 come to and reside with his Parliament, if all they
 who had adhered to him, might be at liberty to
 live in their own Houses, and to enjoy their own
 Estates, without being obliged to take any Oaths,
 but what were enjoined by the Law;” he could
 never procure any other Answer from them. And
 lest all this should not appear Affront enough, they
 published an Ordinance, as they called it, “ that if Their Order

B O O K “ the King should, contrary to the advice of the
IX. “ Parliament already given to him, come, or attempt
 nance there. “ to come, within the Lines of Communication,
 upon. “ the Committee of the Militia should raise such
 “ Forces as they should think fit, to prevent any
 “ Tumult that might arise by his coming, and to
 “ suppress any that should happen; and to appre-
 “ hend any who should come with him, or resort
 “ to him; and to secure his Person from Danger:”
 which was an expression they were not ashamed
 always to use, when there was no Danger that threat-
 ened him, but what themselves contrived, and
 designed against him. To this their Ordinance, they
 added another Injunction, “ that all who had ever
 “ borne Arms for his Majesty” (whereof very many
 upon the Surrender of Garrisons, and liberty granted
 to them, by their Articles upon those Surrenders,
 were come thither) “ should immediately depart,
 “ and go out of *London*, upon penalty of being
 “ proceeded against as Spies.” So that all doors being,
 in this obstinate manner, shut against a Treaty, all
 thoughts of That, at least with reference to the Par-
 liament, were laid aside; and all endeavours used to
 get such a power together, as might make them see
 that his Majesty was not out of all possibility of
 being yet able to defend himself.

The King
 tries to deal
 with the In-
 dependents :

When all hopes, as I said, were desperate of any
 Treaty with the Parliament, and consequently many
 hazards were to be run, in the contriving a Peace
 any other way; the sustaining the War, with any
 probability of Success, was the next desirable thing
 to a Peace, and preferable before any such Peace,

as was probably to be hoped for from the Party that governed the Army, which governed the Parliament. The King therefore used all the means which occurred to him, or which were advised and proposed by others, to divide the Independent Party; and to prevail with some principal Persons of them, to find their Content and Satisfaction in advancing his Interest. That Party comprehended many who were not so much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to desire heartily that a Peace might be established upon the foundations of Both, so their own particular Ambitions might be complied with. To them the King thought he might be able to propose very valuable Compensations for any Service they could do Him; and the power of the Presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the *Scots*, seemed no unnatural Argument to work upon those, who professed to be swayed by matter of Liberty of Conscience in Religion: since it was out of all question, that they should never find the least satisfaction to their Scruples, and their Principles in Church Government, from those who pretended to Erect the Kingdom of *Jesus-Christ*. And it was thought to be no ill Presage towards the repairing of the Fabric of the Church of *England*, that it's two Mortal Enemies, who had exposed it to so much Persecution and Oppression, hated each other as mortally, and labored each other's Destruction, with the same Fury and Zeal they had both practised towards Her. This reasonable imagination very much disposed the King, who was well acquainted with the unruly Spirit and Malice of the Presbyterians, to think it

B O O K possible that he might receive some benefit from the
IX. Independents; a Faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his Majesty's extraordinary Affection for the Church made him the less weigh and consider the incompatibility, and irreconcilableness of that Faction with the Government of the State; of which, it may be, he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible, than that the *English* Nation should submit to any other than Monarchical Government. There were besides an over-active and busy kind of Men, who still undertook to make Overtures as agreeable to the wish of some principal Leaders of that Party, and as with their Authority, and so prevailed with the King, to suffer some Persons of Credit near him, to make some Propositions, in his Name, to particular Persons. And it is very probable, that as the same Men, made the expectations of those People appear to the King much more reasonable and moderate, than in truth they were, so they persuaded the others to believe, that his Majesty would yield to many more important Concessions, than he would ever be induced to grant. So either side had, in a short time, a clear view into each other's intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; safe that the Independents were willing, that the King should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the King as willing that they should believe that his Majesty might be prevailed with to grant more, than at first he appeared resolved to do.

But in vain.

The truth is, though that Party was most preva-

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lent in the Parliament; and comprehended all the Superior Officers of the Army (the General only excepted; who thought himself a Presbyterian) yet there were only three Men, *Vane*, *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who governed and disposed all the rest according to their Sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own Party, nor would their Party, at that time, have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagined, that they had entertained those thoughts of Heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover.

There was another Intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of Success, both in respect of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; and that was a Treaty with the *Scots*, by the Interposition and Mediation of the Crown of *France*; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an Envoy, one *Montrevil*, to *London*, with some formal Address to the Parliament, but intentionally to Negotiate between the King and the *Scots*; whose Agent at *Paris* had given encouragement to the Queen of *England*, then there, to hope that That Nation would return to their Duty; and the Queen-Regent, in the great generosity of her Heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in Her Power to the King's recovery. To that purpose, she sent *Montrevil* at this time with Credentials to the King, as well as to the Parliament; by which the Queen had opportunity to Communicate her Advice to the King her Husband; and the Envoy had

A Treaty
between the
King and
the Scots,
set on foot by
the Interpo-
sition of
France:
And *Montrevil* is
sent for that
purpose.

B O O K Authority " to engage the Faith of *France*, for
 IX. " the performance of whatsoever the King should
 promise to the *Scots*."

This was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that a Foreign Sovereign Prince gave, of wishing a Reconciliation, or to put a period to the Civil War in his Majesty's Dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old Maxim, "that the Crown of *England* " could Balance the Differences which fell out between the Princes of *Europe*," by it's inclining to either Party, had made the Ministers of our State too negligent in cultivating the Affections of their Neighbours by any real Obligations; as if they were to be Arbiters only in the Differences which fell out between others, without being themselves liable to any impressi^on of adverse Fortune. This made the unexpected Calamity that beset this Kingdom not ungrateful to it's Neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weakened and chastised by it's own strokes.

Cardinal *Richelieu*, out of the haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite of revenge, under the disguise of being jealous of the Honor of his Master, had discovered an implacable hatred against the *English*, ever since that unhappy provocation by the Invasion of the Isle of *Re*, and the declared Protection of *Rochelle*; and took the first opportunity, from the indisposition and murmurs of *Scotland*, to warm that People into Rebellion, and saw the Poison thereof prosper, and spread to his

own wish; which he fomented by the *French* Ambassador in the Parliament, with all the Venom of his Heart; as hath been mentioned before. As he had not unwisely driven the Queen-Mother out of *France*, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unadvisedly withdrawn herself from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her Daughter, the Queen of *England*, from coming thither; which she resolved to have done, when she carried the Princess-Royal into *Holland*; in hope to work upon the King her Brother, to make such a seasonable Declaration against the Rebels of *England*, and *Scotland*, as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her Presence would not be acceptable in *France*;" and so, for the present, that enterprise was declined.

But that great Cardinal being now dead, and the King himself dying within a short time after, the Administration of the Affairs of that Kingdom, in the Infancy of the King, and under his Mother, the Queen-Regent, was committed to Cardinal *Mazarin*, an *Italian* by Birth, and raised by *Richelieu* to the degree of a Cardinal, for his great dexterity in putting *Casal* into the hands of *France*, when the *Spaniard* had given it up to him, as the Nuntio of the Pope, and in trust that it should remain in the Possession of his Holiness, till the Title of the Duke of *Mantua* should be determined. This Cardinal was a Man rather of different, than contrary Parts from his Predecessor; and fitter to built upon the Foundations which he had laid, than to have laid those Founda-

BOOK IX. tions; and to cultivate, by Artifice, Dexterity, and Dissimulation (in which his Nature and Parts excelled) what the other had begun with great Resolution and Vigor, and even gone through with invincible Constancy and Courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all opposition and contradiction to the Crown, by the cutting off the Head of the Duke of *Montmorency*, and reducing Monsieur, the Brother of the King, to the most tame submission, and incapacity of fomenting another Rebellion, it was very easy for the other, to find a compliance from all Men, now sufficiently terrified from any contradiction. And how great things soever this last Minister performed for the Service of that Crown, during the Minority of the King, they may all, in justice, be imputed to the prudence and providence of Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had reduced and disposed the whole Nation to an entire Subjection and Submission to what should be imposed upon them.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, when he came first to that great Ministry, was without any Personal Animosity against our King, or the *English* Nation; and was no otherwise delighted with the distraction and confusion they were both involved in, than as it disabled the whole People from making such a conjunction with the *Spaniard* as might make the prosecution of that War (upon which his whole Heart was set) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reason to apprehend by the Residence of *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, Ambassador from the King of *Spain*, still at *London*, making all Addresses to the Parliament.

When the Queen had been compelled in the last year, upon the advance of the Earl of *Essex* into the West, to Transport herself out of *Cornwall* into *France*, she had found there as good a reception, as she could expect; and received as many expressions of kindness from the Queen-Regent, and as ample promises from the Cardinal, as she could wish. So that she promised herself a very good effect from her Journey; and did procure from him such a present supply of Arms and Ammunition, as, though of no great value in itself, she was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the Cardinal did not yet think the King's Condition low enough; and rather desired, by administering little ordinary Supplies, to enable him to continue the struggle, than to see him Victorious over his Enemies; when he might more remember, how slender Aid he had received, than That he had been assisted; and might hereafter make himself Arbiter of the Peace between the two Crowns. Wherefore he was more solicitous to keep a good correspondence with the Parliament, and to profess a Neutrality between the King and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy, by appearing much concerned for the King.

But after the Battle of *Naseby* was lost, and that the King seemed so totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an Army, that might be able to resist the Enemy, the Cardinal was Awakened to new Apprehensions; and saw more cause to fear the Monstrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally subdued the King,

B O O K IX. than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the Crown : and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he received from the generosity of the Queen-Regent, who really desired to supply some Substantial relief to the King, he was himself willing to receive any Propositions from the Queen of *England*, by which She thought that the King her Husband's Service might be advanced ; and had always the Dexterity and Artifice, by letting things fall in discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceived, to cause that to be proposed to him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. So he had Application enough from the Covenanting-Party of *Scotland* (who from the beginning had depended upon *France*, by the encouragement and promises of Cardinal *Richelieu*) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the Queen of *England*, that they might come recommended by her Majesty to him, as a good Expedient for the King's Service. For they were not now reserved in their Complaints of the Treatment they received from the Parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent Army, and of their Faction in both Houses ; and therefore wished nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King ; towards which they had all encouragement from the Cardinal, if they made their address to the Queen, and if her Majesty would desire the Cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the King's

behalf, to the *Scots* upon their engagement, “ the
 “ Crown of *France* should give credit and engage,
 “ as well that the *Scots* should perform all that they
 “ should promise, as that the King should make good
 “ whatsoever should be undertaken by Him, or by
 “ the Queen on his behalf.

This was the occasion and ground of sending
 Monsieur *Montrevil* into *England*, as is mentioned
 before. He arrived there in *January*, with as much
 credit as the Queen-Regent could give him to the
Scots, and as the Queen of *England* could give him
 to the King; who likewise persuaded his Majesty,
 to believe, “ that *France* was now become really
 “ kind to him, and would engage all it’s power to
 “ serve him; and that the Cardinal was well assured,
 “ that the *Scots* would behave themselves hencefor-
 wards very honestly:” which his Majesty was wil-
 ling to believe, when all other hopes had failed; and
 all the Overtures made by him for a Treaty had been
 rejected. But it was not long before he was unde-
 ceived; and discerned that this Treaty was not like
 to produce better fruit, than his former Overtures
 had done. For the first Information he received from
Montrevil, after his arrival in *England*, and after he
 had conferred with the *Scottish*-Commissioners, was,
 “ that they peremptorily insisted upon his Majesty’s
 “ Condescension, and Promise, for the Establishment
 “ of the Presbyterian Government in *England*, as it
 “ was in *Scotland*; without which, he said, there was
 “ no hope, that they would ever join with his Ma-
 “ jesty;” and therefore the Envoy pressed his Ma-
 jesty “ to give them satisfaction therein, as the advice

Montrevil’s
 Negotiation
 with the King.

B O O K “ of the Queen-Regent and the Cardinal, and like-
 IX. “ wife of the Queen his Wife; which exceedingly
 “ troubled the King.” And the *Scots* alledged confidently, “ that the Queen had expressly promised to
 “ Sir *Robert Moray* (a cunning and a dexterous Man, who had been employed by them to her Majesty)
 “ that his Majesty should consent thereunto.” They produced a Writing Signed by the Queen, and delivered to Sir *Robert Moray*, wherein there were such expressions concerning Religion, as nothing pleased the King; and made him look upon that Negotiation, as rather a Conspiracy against the Church between the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, than as an Expedient for his Restoration, or Preservation: and he was very much displeased with some Persons, of near trust about the Queen, to whose misinformation, and advice, he imputed what her Majesty had done in that particular.

Thereupon he deferred not to let Monsieur *Montrevil* know, “ that the alteration of the Government
 “ in the Church was expressly against his Con-
 “ science; and that he would never consent to it;
 “ that what the Queen his Wife had seemed to promise, proceeded from her not being well informed
 “ of the constitution of the Government of *England*;
 “ which could not consist with the change that was
 “ proposed.” But his Majesty offered, “ to give all
 “ the assurance imaginable, and hoped that the
 “ Queen-Regent would engage her Royal word on
 “ his behalf in that particular, that the Maintenance
 “ and Support of the Episcopal Government, in *Eng-*
 “ *land*, should not in any degree shake, or bring the

“ least prejudice to that Government that was then
“ settled in *Scotland* ;” and, farther he offered, “ that,
“ if the *Scots* should desire to have the free exercise
“ of their Religion, according to their own practice
“ and custom, whilst they should be at any time in
“ *England*, he would assign them convenient places
“ to that purpose in *London*, or any other part of
“ the Kingdom, were they should desire it.” Nor
could all the Importunity or Arguments, used by
Montrevil, prevail with his Majesty to enlarge those
Concessions, or in the least to recede from the con-
stancy of his resolution ; though he informed him of
“ the dissatisfaction both the *Scottish* Commissioners,
“ and the Presbyterians in *London* had in his Ma-
“ jesty’s resolution, and averfeness from gratifying
“ them in that, which they always had, and always
“ would insist upon ; and that the *Scots* were re-
“ solved to have no more to do with his Majesty ;
“ but to agree with the Independents ; from whom
“ they could have better conditions than from Him ;
“ and he feared such an Agreement was too far ad-
“ vanced already.”

Many Answers and Replies passed between the
King and *Montrevil* in Cipher, and with all imagi-
nable Secrecy ; in which, whatever reproaches were
cast upon him afterwards, he always gave the King
very clear and impartial information of the temper,
and of the discourses of those People with whom he
was to Transact. And though he did, upon all occa-
sions, with much earnestness, advise his Majesty to
consent to the unreasonable demands of the *Scots*,
which, he did believe, he would be at last compelled

B O O K IX. to do, yet it is as certain, that he did use all the Arguments the Talent of his Understanding, which was a very good one, could suggest to him, to persuade the *Scots* to be contented with what the King had so frankly offered and granted to them; and did all he could to persuade and convince them, that their own preservation, and that of their Nation depended upon the preservation of the King and the support of his Regal Authority. And it is very memorable, that, in Answer to a Letter which *Montrevil* writ to the King and in which he persuaded his Majesty to agree with the *Scots* upon their own demands, and amongst other Arguments, assured his Majesty, “that the *English* Presbyterians were fully agreed “with the *Scots*” (which his Majesty believed they would never be) the *Scots* having declared, “that “they would never insist upon the settling any other “Government than was at that time practised in “*London*,” urging many other successes, which they had at that time obtained; the King, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared used these words in his Letter of the 21st of *January* to Monsieur *Montrevil*, “Let them never “flatter themselves so with their good successes; “without pretending to Prophecy, I will foretel “their ruin; except they agree with Me; however “it shall please God to dispose of Me;” which they had great reason to remember after.

But because, though this Treaty was begun, and proceeded so far as is recited, before the end of the present Year, yet it was carried on and did not conclude, till some Months after the next Year was begun, we shall put an end to our Relation of it at

present, and resume what remains, in it's place of the Year ensuing: Only, before we finish our Account of the Actions of this unfortunate Year forty-five, we must mention one more, which happened on the two-and-twentieth of *March* just as the Year was expiring.

The King had hoped to draw out of the few Garrisons still in his possession, such a Body of Horse and Foot, as might enable Him to take the Field early in the Spring though without any fixed design. But this was dashed in the very beginning, by the total Rout and Defeat the Lord *Astley* underwent; who being upon his March from *Worcester* towards *Oxford*, with two thousand Horse and Foot, and the King having appointed to meet him, with another Body of fifteen hundred Horse and Foot, Letters and Orders miscarried, and were intercepted; whereby the Enemy came to have notice of the Resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several Garrisons of *Glocester*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*. and *Evesham*. So that the Lord *Astley* was no sooner upon his March, but they followed him; and the second day, after he had marched all night, when he thought he had escaped all their Quarters, they fell upon his wearied Troops; which, though a bold and stout Resistance was made, were at last totally Defeated; and the Lord *Astley* himself, Sir *Charles Lucas*, who was Lieutenant-General of the Horse, and most of the other Officers, who were not killed, were taken Prisoners. The few who escaped, were so scattered and dispersed, that they never came together again; nor did there remain, from that time, any possibility for the King to draw any other Troops together in the Field.

B O O K
IX.

The Year
1645 con-
cludes with
the Defeat
of the Lord
Astley's
Forces.

THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.
B O O K X.

Jer. xxx. 6.

*Wherefore do I see every Man with his hands on his loins,
as a Woman in travail, and all faces are turned into
paleness?*

Jer. xlvii. 6.

*O thou sword of the Lord, how long will it be ere
thou be quiet? put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest,
and be still.*

Ezek. xxxiv. 2.

*Wo be to the Shepherds of Israel, that do feed them-
selves; should not the Shepherds feed the Flocks?*

B O O K **X.** **T**HE Actions of the last Year were attended
with so many dismal Accidents and Events, that
there were no seeds of hope left to spring up in this
ensuing ill year; for it was enough discerned how
little success the Treaty with the Scots would pro-
duce; which yet the King did not desire to put a
period to, otherwise than by positively declaring,
“that he would never consent to the alteration of

“ the Church-Government,” but was willing enough that they should entertain any other hopes, and was not himself without hope, that by satisfying the Ambition, and Interest of particular Men, he might mitigate the rigor of the Presbyterian Faction; and to that purpose Monsieur *Montrevil* was gone from *London* to the *Scottish Army*, then before *Newark*, having taken *Oxford* in his way, and so given an Account to the King of his observations, and received from him such Information and Instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

In the mean time no ways were left untried to draw such a Body of an Army together, as might enable his Majesty to make some attempt upon the Enemy; and if he could, by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his Garrisons left, a force of five thousand Horse and Foot (which at that time seemed a thing not to be despaired of) he did more desire to have lost his life, in some signal attempt upon any part of the Enemies Army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by Treaty; and he was not out of hope of a Body of five thousand Foot to be landed in *Cornwall*, which his Letters from *France* confidently promised, and which had been so much expected, and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from transporting himself into *Scilly*, till *Fairfax* was marched (as hath been said before) within little more than twenty Miles of *Pendennis*. For Sir *Dudley Wyat* had been sent expressly from the Lord *Jermyn*, to assure the Prince, that such a Body of five thousand Foot were actually raised under the Command of *Ruvignie*, and

B O O K

II.

B O O K should be Embarked for *Pendennis* within less than a
X. month; and the Lord *Jernyn*, in a P. M. apt to that Letter which he writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sir *Dudley Wyatt* wished him not to be too strict in the computation of the Month from the date of the Letter, because there might be accidents of Winds at that Season; but he desired him to be confident, that they should be all landed within the expiration of six Weeks, and by that Measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that Account: After all this, it is as true, that there was never a Man at this time levied, or designed for that Expedition, only the Name of *Ruvignie* (because he was of the Religion, and known to be a good Officer) had been mentioned, in some loose discourse by the Cardinal, as one who would be very fit to Command any Troops which might be sent into *England* for the relief of the King; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be Warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreasonable Expectation; the which and many other of that great Lord's Negotiations and Transactions, the succeeding, and long continuing Misfortunes, kept from being ever after examined, or considered and reflected upon.

The Prince stayed in the Isle of *Scilly* from *Wednesday* the 4th of *March* till *Thursday* the 16th of *April*, the Wind having continued so contrary, that the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* came not to him from *Cornwall* till the *Saturday* before; at which time likewise arrived a Trumpeter from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with such a Message from the Parliament to the Prince

as might well be called a Summons, rather than an Invitation ; yet it was well it came not to *Pendennis*, where it would have found a Party among the Prince's Servants. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, a Fleet of about twenty-seven, or twenty-eight Sail of Ships, encompassed the Island ; but within three or four hours, by a very notable Tempest, which continued two days, they were dispersed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakness of the Place, if it should be attacked by any considerable strength (which both by the Message and the Attendants of it they had reason to apprehend) together with the extreme scarcity of Provisions in that Island, which had not been, in the six weeks the Prince staid there, supplied with Victual for two days out of *Cornwal*, neither had there been any returns from *France* upon the Lord *Colepepper*'s Application to the Queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the Season of the Year, his Highness inclined to remove to *Jersey* ; against which nothing could be objected of Weight, but the consideration of the King's being at *London* (which was strongly reported still) in a Treaty ; and then, that his Highness' remove, especially if by distress of Weather he should be forced into *France*, might be prejudicial to the King ; and therefore it would be reasonable, first to expect some Advertisement from his Majesty in what condition he was. Hereupon his Highness produced in Council this ensuing Letter from the King, which was writ shortly after the Battle of *Naseby*, and which he had concealed till that Morning from all

B O O K the Lords, and which truly, I think, was the only
X. secret he had ever kept from the four he had trusted.

Hereford the 23^d of June 1645.

Charles,

A Letter from
 the King to
 the Prince,
 written from
 Hereford;
 June 23. 1645.

“ My late misfortunes remember me to command
 “ you that which I hope you shall never have occa-
 “ sion to obey; it is this; If I should at any time be
 “ taken Prisoner by the Rebels, I command you
 “ (upon my blessing) never to yield to any condi-
 “ tions, that are dishonorable, unsafe for your Per-
 “ son, or Derogatory to Regal Authority, upon
 “ any considerations whatsoever, though it were
 “ for the saving of my Life; which in such a Case, I
 “ am most confident, is in greatest security by your
 “ constant resolution, and not a whit the more in
 “ danger for their threatening, unless thereby you
 “ should yield to their desires. But let their Resolu-
 “ tions be never so Barbarous, the saving of my Life
 “ by complying with them would make me end my
 “ days with torture, and disquiet of mind, not
 “ giving you my Blessing, and Cursing all the rest
 “ who are consenting to it. But your constancy will
 “ make me die cheerfully, praising God for giving
 “ me so gallant a Son, and heaping my blessings on
 “ you; which you may be confident (in such a case)
 “ will light on you. I charge you to keep this Letter
 “ still safe by you, until you shall have cause to use
 “ it; and then, and not till then, to show it to all
 “ your Council; it being my command to them, as
 “ well as you; whom I pray God to make as prosper-
 “ ously glorious as any of the Predecessors ever were
 “ of
 Your loving Father *Charles R.*”

After the reading this Letter, and a consideration of the probability that the Rebels would make some attempt upon his Highness there, and the impossibility of resisting such an attempt in the condition the Island then stood, it was by his Highness with great earnestness proposed, and by the whole Council (except the Earl of *Berkshire*) unanimously advised, that the opportunity should be then laid hold on, whilst the Rebels Ships were scattered; and that his Highness should Embark for *Jersey*; which he did accordingly on *Thursday*; and on the next day, being the 17th of *April*, with a prosperous wind landed at *Jersey*; from whence, the same Night, they sent an Express to the Queen, of the Prince's safe arrival in that Island; and likewise Letters to *St. Maloes*, and *Havre de Grace*, to advertise the Lord *Colepepper* of the same; who received the Information very seasonably, lying then at *Havre* with two Frigates in expectation of a Wind for *Scilly*, and with Command to the Prince from the Queen, immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an Account of this Island, both himself, and all their Lordships were of opinion, that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, that could have been desired, and wished for; till upon a clear information; and observation of the King's condition, and the state of *England*, he should find a fit opportunity to Act; and the Prince himself seemed to have the greatest aversion, and resolution against going into *France*, except in case of danger of surprisal by the Rebels, that could be imagined. In few days, Mr. *Progers*,

B O O K
X.

The Prince of
Wales Em-
barks from
Scilly, lands
at Jersey
Apr. 17.

B O O K who had been despatched before (presently upon
X. the Lord *Colepepper*'s coming) from *Paris* for *Scilly*,
 being hindered by contrary Winds till he received
 the News of the Prince's being at *Jersey*, came thither,
 and brought this following Letter from her Majesty
 to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Cipher.

Paris the 5th of April 1645.

A Letter
 from the
 Queen to the
 Chancellor of
 the Exche-
 quer con-
 cerning the
 Prince's re-
 moval into
 France.

“ My Lord *Colepepper* must witness for me that I
 “ have patiently and at large, heard all that he could
 “ say concerning the condition of *Scilly*, and all that
 “ has been proposed for rendering of the Prince of
 “ *Wales* his abode there safe; yet I must confess to
 “ you, that I am so far from being satisfied in that
 “ point, that I shall not sleep in quiet until I shall
 “ hear that the Prince of *Wales* shall be removed
 “ from thence. It is confessed, it is not sufficiently
 “ Fortified, and is accessible in divers places; and
 “ the Manning the Works will require a thousand
 “ Men more than you have, or, for ought I see,
 “ can procure; neither can you be confident, that
 “ the loss of *Cornwal* may not suddenly have a
 “ dangerous influence upon that Garrison; most of
 “ your Soldiers being of that Country. The power
 “ of the Parliament at Sea is so great, that you cannot
 “ rely upon the seasonable and safe conveyance of
 “ such proportions of Provisions, as so great a Gar-
 “ rison will require: I need not remember you of
 “ what Importance to the King, and all his Party,
 “ the safety of the Prince's Person is; If he should
 “ fall into the Rebels hands, the whole would there-
 “ by become desperate; therefore I must importun-

“ ately conjure you to intend this work, as the prin-
 “ cipal service you can do to the King , Me, or the
 “ Prince. *Colepepper* will tell you how I have strained
 “ to assist you with present Provisions, Shipping,
 “ and Money , necessary for the Prince’s Remove to
 “ *Jersey*; where, be confident of it, he shall want
 “ nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I have
 “ moved the Queen-Regent to give assurance, that
 “ if the Prince, in his way to *Jersey*, should be ne-
 “ cessitated, by contrary Winds, or the danger of
 “ the Parliament-Shipping, to touch in *France*, he
 “ should have all freedom, and assistance from hence,
 “ in his immediate passage thither; which is granted
 “ with great Cheerfulness, and Civility, and will be
 “ Subscribed under the hand of the *French* King and
 “ Queen, my Brother, and Cardinal *Mazarin*: there-
 “ fore I hope all scruples are now satisfied. *Colepepper*
 “ is hastening to you with good Frigates; but if you
 “ shall find any danger before their Arrival, I shall
 “ rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity
 “ to prevent the danger, according to the resolution
 “ in Council, which *Colepepper* hath acquainted me
 “ with; for wick I thank you. I need not tell you
 “ how acceptable this service will be to the King,
 “ who in every Letter presses me to write to you
 “ concerning my Son’s safety; nor that I am, and
 “ always will be, most constantly,

“ Your assured Friend *Henriette Marie R.*

The Prince and Council were very glad at the receipt of this Letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they wer advertised at their first landing there, that

B O O K there was still an expectation of the Prince in *France*;
X. and that he would be speedily importuned from thence;
 which they could not believe; but as soon as the Lord
Colepepper came, they plainly discerned that Letter
 had been written upon advice to *Scilly*, and upon
 foreseeing that an immediate Journey into *France*
 would not have been submitted to; and that the
 Instrument mentioned for his Highness' quiet and
 uninterrupted Passage through *France* to *Jersey*, was
 only a color, the sooner to have invited the Prince
 to have landed there, if there had been any acci-
 dents in his passage; but that the resolution was,
 that he should not then have come to *Jersey*, as it
 was now, that he should quickly come from thence;
 to which purpose shortly after, came most impor-
 tunate Letters from the Queen; and it seems, how-
 soever all the late Letters from the King to the Prince
 before his coming out of *England*, were for his
 repair into *Denmark*, his Majesty, upon what reasons
 I know not, conceived his Highness to be in *France*;
 for after his coming to *Jersey*, this following Letter
 was sent to him, by the Lord *Jermyn*, in whose
 Cipher it was writ, and deciphered by his Lordship.

Oxford the 22^d of March.

Charles,

A Letter from
 the King to
 the Prince.

“ Hoping that this will find you safe with your
 “ Mother, I think fit to write this short but neces-
 “ sary Letter to you: Then know, that your being
 “ where you are, safe from the Power of the Re-
 “ bels, is under God, either my greatest security,
 “ or my certain ruin. For your constancy to Reli-

“ gion, Obedience to me, and to the Rules of
 “ honor, will make these insolent Men begin to
 “ hearken to reason, when they shall see their In-
 “ justice not like to be crowned with quiet; but,
 “ if you depart from those grounds for which I have
 “ all this time fought, then your leaving this King-
 “ dom will be (with too much probability) called
 “ sufficient proof for many of the slanders heretofore
 “ laid upon me: wherefore, once again, I command
 “ you upon my blessing to be constant to your Re-
 “ ligion, neither hearkening to Roman Superstitions,
 “ nor the seditious and schismatical Doctrines of the
 “ Presbyterians and Independents; for, know that
 “ a persecuted Church is not thereby less pure,
 “ though less fortunate. For all other things. I com-
 “ mand you to be totally directed by your Mother,
 “ and (as subordinate to her) by the remainder of
 “ that Council which I put to you, at your parting
 “ from hence: and so God bless you.”

Charles R.

This Letter, and the very passionate Commands
 from the Queen, together with what was privately
 said to his Highness by the Lord *Colepepper*, who from
 his being at *Paris* had changed his former opinions,
 and was (though he expressed it tenderly; finding a
 general aversion) positive for his going, wrought
 so far on the Prince, that he discovered an Inclination
 to the Journey; whereupon the Council presented
 at large to him, the Inconveniences and Dangers
 that naturally might be supposed would attend such
 a resolution: They remembered, the Carriage of

B O O K the *French* since the beginning of this Rebellion;
X. how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the least degree, assisted the King; that there was no Evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the Rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some public Declaration on his Majesty's behalf, before the Heir apparent of the Crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be thoroughly weighed, and considered, before executed; and so, in the end they prevailed with the Prince (since at that time it was not known where the King was) to send the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* again to the Queen, to present the weightiness of the matter to her Majesty. One of their Instructions was as follows.

The Lords
Capel and
Colepepper
 sent to Paris,
 to dissuade the
 Queen from
 sending for the
 Prince into
 France.

Their Instruc-
 tions and
 Arrival at
 Paris.

“ You shall inform her Majesty, that We have,
 “ with all duty and submission, considered her Let-
 “ ters to Us concerning our speedy repair into the
 “ Kingdom of *France*; the which direction, We
 “ conceive to be grounded upon her Majesty's appre-
 “ hension of danger to our Person by any residence
 “ here; the contrary whereof, We believe, her
 “ Majesty will be no sooner advertised of, than she
 “ will hold Us excused for not giving that present
 “ obedience which We desire always to yield to the
 “ least Intimation of her Majesty; and therefore,
 “ you shall humbly acquaint her Majesty, that We
 “ have great reason to believe this Island, to be de-
 “ sensible against a greater Force, than We suppose

“ probable to be brought against it. That the Inha- B O O K
 “ bitants of the Island express as much cheerfulness, X.
 “ unanimity, and resolution, for the defence of our
 “ Person, by their whole carriage, and particularly
 “ by a Protestation voluntarily undertaken by them,
 “ as can be desired; and that, if, contrary to ex-
 “ pectation, the Rebels should take the Island, We
 “ can from the Castle (a place in itself of very great
 “ strength) with the least hazard remove ourself to
 “ *France*; which in case of imminent danger We
 “ resolve to do. That our security being thus stated,
 “ We beseech her Majesty to consider, whether it
 “ be not absolutely necessary, before any thought
 “ of our remove from hence be entertained, that
 “ We have as clear an information as may be got,
 “ of the condition of our Royal Father, and the
 “ Affections of *England*; of the resolutions of the
 “ *Scots* in *England*, and the strength of the Lord
 “ *Mountrose* in *Scotland*; of the Affairs in *Ireland*, and
 “ the conclusion of the Treaty there; that so, upon
 “ a full and mature prospect upon the whole, We
 “ may so dispose of our Person as may be most for
 “ the benefit and advantage of our Royal Father; or
 “ patiently attend such an alteration and conjuncture,
 “ as may administer a greater advantage than is yet
 “ offered; and whether our remove out of the Do-
 “ minions of our Royal Father (except upon such
 “ a necessity, or apparent visible conveniency) may
 “ not have an Influence upon the Affections of
 “ the three Kingdoms to the disadvantage of his
 “ Majesty.”

Within two days after the two Lords were gone

B O O K for *Paris*, Sir *Dudley Wyat* arrived with the News
 x. of the King's being gone out of *Oxford*, before the break of day, only with two Servants, and to what place uncertain; it was believed by the Queen, as she said in her Letter to the Prince, that he was gone for *Ireland*, or to the *Scots*; and therefore her Majesty renewed her Command for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*; whereas the chief reason before was, that he would put himself into the *Scots* hands; and therefore it was necessary that his Highness should be in *France*, to go in the head of those Forces which should be immediately sent out of that Kingdom to assist his Majesty.

The two Lords found the Queen much troubled, that the Prince himself came not; she declared herself "not to be moved with any reasons that were, or could be, given for his stay; and that her resolution was positive and unalterable:" yet they prevailed with her, to respite any positive Declaration till she might receive full advertisement of the King's condition; who was by this time known to be in the *Scottish* Army.

It is remembered before, that the Prince, upon his arrival at *Scilly*, sent a Gentleman to *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, as well that he might be punctually informed of the State of that Kingdom (of which there were several reports) as that he might receive from thence a Company or two of Foot, for the better Guard of that Island; which he foresaw would be necessary, whether he should remain there or not. The Gentleman had a very quick passage to *Dublin*, and came thither very quickly after the

Peace was agreed upon with the *Irish* Roman-Catholics, and found the Lord *Digby* there ; who, after his Enterprize, and disbanding in *Scotland*, had first transported himself into the Isle of *Man*, and from thence into *Ireland*; where he had been received, with great kindness and generosity, by the Marquis of *Ormond*, as a Man who had been in so eminent a Post in the King's Council and Affairs. He was a Person of so rare a composition by Nature and by Art (for Nature alone could never have reached to it) that he was so far from being ever dismayed upon any Misfortune (and greater variety of Misfortunes never befel any Man) that he quickly recollected himself so vigorously, that he did really believe his condition to be improved by that ill accident ; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new stock of Reputation, and Honor ; and so he no sooner heard of the Prince's being in the Isle of *Scilly*, and of his condition, and the condition of that place, than he presently concluded, that the Prince's presence in *Ireland* would settle and compose all the factions there ; reduce the Kingdom to his Majesty's Service ; and oblige the Pope's Nuntio, who was an Enemy to the Peace, to quit his ambitious designs. The Lord Lieutenant had so good an opinion of the Expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that when his Highness had been forced to leave *England* he had rather chosen to have made *Ireland* than *Scilly* his retreat ; but, being a Wise Man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehension of many contingencies which might increase those difficulties, he would

B O O K not take upon him to give advice in a point of so great importance; but, forthwith, having a Couple of Frigates ready, he caused a hundred Men with their Officers to be presently put on board, according to his Highness' desire; and the Lord *Digby* (who always concluded, that That was fit to be done which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the Execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be attempted) put himself on board those Vessels; resolving, that upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the Prince, and the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit *Scilly*, and to repair to *Dublin*; which, he did not doubt, if brought to pass in that way, would have been grateful to the Lord Lieutenant. But, by the sudden remove of the Prince from *Scilly*, the two Frigates from *Dublin* missed finding him there; and that Lord, whose order they were obliged to observe, made all the haste he could to *Jersey*; where he found the Prince, with many other of his Friends who attended his Highness, the two Lords being gone but the day before to attend the Queen; he lost no time in informing his Highness of the happy state and condition of *Ireland*; that the Peace was concluded; and an Army of twelve thousand Men ready to be transported into *England*; of the great Zeal, and Affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his Service; and that if his Highness would repair thither, he should find the whole Kingdom devoted to him; and thereupon, positively advised him, without farther deliberation, to put himself aboard those Frigates; which were excellent Sailers, and fit for his secure transportation.

The Lord
Digby arrives
at Jersey from
Ireland.

The Prince told him, “ that it was a matter of greater importance, than was fit to be executed upon so short deliberation; that he was no sooner arrived at *Jersey* than he received Letters from the Queen his Mother, requiring him forthwith to come to *Paris*, where all things were provided for his reception; that he had sent two of the Lords of the Council to the Queen, to excuse him for not giving ready obedience to her Commands; and to assure her that he was in a place of unquestionable Security; in which he might safely expect, to hear from the King his Father before he took any other resolution: That it would be very incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into *Ireland*, before his Messengers return from *Paris*; in which time, he might reasonably hope to hear from the King himself; and so wished him to have patience till the matter was more ripe for a determination.” This reasonable Answer gave him no satisfaction; he commended the Prince’s averfeness from going into *France*; “ which, he said, was the most pernicious Counsel that ever could be given; that it was a thing the King his Father abhorred, and never would consent to; and that he would take upon himself to write to the Queen, and to give her such solid advice, and reasons, that should infallibly convert Her from that desire, and that should abundantly satisfy Her that his going into *Ireland* was absolutely necessary; but that a little delay in the execution of it, might deprive Him of all the Fruit which was to be expected from that Journey; and therefore, renewed his advice, and

B O O K

X.

“ importunity, for losing no more time, but immediately to Embark ;” which when he saw was not like to prevail with his Highness, he repaired to one of those of the Privy-Council, who attended the Prince, with whom he had a particular Friendship, and Lamented to him, the loss of such an occasion, which would inevitably restore the King; who would be equally ruined if the Prince went into *France*; of which he spoke with all the detestation imaginable; and said, “ he was so far satisfied in his Conscience of the benefit that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would inevitably fall out by the other, that, he said, if the Person with whom he held this conference, would concur with him, he would carry the Prince into *Ireland*, even without and against his consent.” The other Person answered, “ that it was not to be attempted without his consent; nor could he imagine it possible to bring it to pass if they should both endeavour it.” He replied, “ that he would invite the Prince on Board the Frigates to a Collation; and that he knew well he could so commend the Vessels to him, that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a view of them; and that as soon as he was on Board, he would cause the Sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into *Ireland*.”

The other was very angry with him for entertaining such imaginations; and told him, “ they neither agreed with his Wisdom nor his Duty;” and left him in despair of his Conjunction, and, at the same time, of being able to compass it. He had no sooner discharged himself of this imagination, but in the

Instant (as he had a most pregnant fancy) he entertained another with the same vigor; and resolved, with all possible expedition, to find himself at *Paris*, not making the least Question but that he should convert the Queen from any farther thought of sending for the Prince into *France*, and as easily obtain Her consent and approbation for his repairing into *Ireland*; and he made as little doubt, with the Queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with *France* to send a good supply of Money by him into *Ireland*; by which he should acquire a most universal Reputation, and be the most welcome Man alive to the Lord Lieutenant: and Transported with this happy Auguration, he left *Jersey*; leaving at the same time his two Ships, and his Soldiers, and half a dozen Gentlemen of Quality (who, upon his desire, and many promises, had kept him Company from *Ireland*) without one penny of Money to subsist on during his absence.

Thence he
goes into
France.

As soon as he came to *Paris*, and had seen the Queen (whom he found very well inclined to do all she could for the relief of *Ireland*, but resolute to have the Prince her Son immediately with Her, notwithstanding all the Reasons pressed against it by the Lords of the King's Council, who had been sent from *Jersey*) He attended the Cardinal; who understood him very well, and knew his foible; and received him with all the Ceremony, and Demonstration of respect, he could possible express; entered upon the Discourse of *England*; celebrated the part which he had Acted upon that Stage, in so many Actions of Courage, and Sagacity, of the highest Prudence and

His Transactions there
with the
Queen of
England and
Cardinal
Mazarin.

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Circumspection, with an indefatigable Industry and Fidelity. He told him, "that *France* found too late
 " their own error; that they had been very well
 " content to see the King's great puissance weakened
 " by his Domestic Troubles, which they wished
 " only should keep him from being able to hurt his
 " Neighbours; but that they never had desired to
 " see him at the Mercy of his own Rebels, which
 " they saw now was like to be the Case; and they
 " were therefore resolved to wed his Interest in such
 " a way and manner, as the Queen of *England* should
 " desire; in which he well knew how much her Majesty would depend upon his Lordship's Counsel.
 " The Cardinal said, "it was absolutely necessary,
 " since the Crown of *France* resolved to wed the
 " King's Interest, that the Person of the Prince of
 " *Wales* should reside in *France*; that the method he
 " had thought of proceeding in, was that the Queen
 " of *England* should make choice of such a Person,
 " whom she thought best affected, and best qualified
 " for such an employment, whom the King of *France*
 " would immediately send as his Extraordinary Ambassador to the King and to the Parliament: that
 " he should govern himself wholly by such Instructions as the Queen should give him; which, he
 " knew, would be his Lordship's work to prepare;
 " that all things should be made ready as soon as the
 " Queen would nominate the Ambassador; and that,
 " upon the arrival of the Prince of *Wales* in any part
 " of *France*, as soon as notice should be sent to the
 " Court of it (for which due preparation should be
 " made) the Ambassador should be in the same
 " manner

“ manner despatched for *England*, with one only B O O K
 “ Instruction from *France*; which should be, That he X.
 “ should demand a speedy answer from the Parlia-
 “ ment, whether they would satisfy the demands
 “ the *French* Court had made? which if they
 “ should refuse to do, he should forthwith, in the
 “ King his Master’s name. declare War against them,
 “ and immediately leave the Kingdom, and return
 “ Home; and then there should be quickly such an
 “ Army ready, as was worthy for the Prince of
 “ *Wales* to venture his own Person in; and that he
 “ should have the honor to redeem and restore his
 “ Father.”

This discourse ended, the Lord *Digby* wanted not
 Language to extol the Generosity and the Magnani-
 mity of the resolution, and to pay the Cardinal all
 his Compliments in his own Coin, and, from thence,
 to enter upon the Condition of *Ireland*; in which the
 Cardinal presently interrupted him, and told him,
 “ he knew well he was come from thence, and
 “ meant to return thither, and likewise the Carriage
 “ of the Nuntio. That the Marquis of *Ormond* was
 “ too brave a Gentleman, and had merited too much
 “ of his Master to be deserted; and *France* was re-
 “ solved not to do its business by halves, but to give
 “ the King’s Affairs an entire relief in all Places; that
 “ he should carry a good Supply of Money with
 “ him into *Ireland*, and that Arms and Ammunition
 “ should be speedily sent after him, and such direc-
 “ tion to their Agent there, as should draw off all
 “ the *Irish* from the Nuntio, who had not entirely
 “ given themselves up to the *Spanish* Interest.

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The noble Person had that which he most desired; he was presently converted, and undertook to the Queen, that he would presently convert all at *Jersey*; and that the Prince should obey all her Commands; and entered into consultation with her upon the Election of an Amdassador, and what Instructions should be given him; which he took upon himself to prepare. Monsieur *Bellievre* was named by the Queen, whom the Cardinal had designed for that Office. The Cardinal approved the Instructions, and caused six thousand Pistoles to be paid to him, who was to go to *Ireland*; and though it was a much less Sum than he had promised himself, from the magnificent Expressions the Cardinal had used to him, yet it provided well for his own occasions; so he left the Queen with his usual professions, and confidence, and accompanied those Lords to *Jersey*, who were to attend upon his Highness with her Majesty's Orders for the Prince's repair into *France*; for the Advancement whereof the Cardinal was so solicitous, that he writ a Letter to the old Prince of *Conde* (which he knew he would forthwith send to the Queen; as he did) in which he said, "that he had received very certain Advertisement out of *England*, that there were some Persons about the Prince of *Wales* in *Jersey*, who had undertaken to deliver his Highness up into the hands of the Parliament for twenty thousand Pistoles;" and this Letter was forthwith sent by the Queen to overtake the Lords, that it might be showed to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him, might discern, what would be thought of them, if they dissuaded

his Highness from giving a present obedience to his Mother's Commands.

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As soon as they came to *Jersey*, the Lord Digby used all the means he could to persuade his Friend to concur in his advice for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*. He told him all that had passed between the Cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the Expressions of the high value his Eminence had of his particular Person: "That an Ambassador" "was chosen by his advice, and his Instructions" "drawn by him, from no part of which the Ambassador durst swerve" (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he himself had nominated the Ambassador, and that his Instructions would be exactly observed by him; so great a Power he had always over himself, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him) "That a War" "would be presently proclaimed upon their refusal" "to do what the Ambassador required, and that" "there wanted nothing to the expediting this great" "Affair, but the Prince's repairing into *France*" "without farther delay; there being no other question concerning that matter, than whether his" "Highness should stay in *Jersey*? where there could" "be no question of his Security, until he could receive express direction from the King his Father;" "and therefore he conjured his Friend to concur in" "that advice;" which would be very grateful to the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself; telling him "how kind her Majesty was to" "him, and how confident she was of his Service, and" "that if he should be of another opinion, it would

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“not hinder the Prince from going;” who, he knew, was resolved to obey his Mother; and so concluded his Discourse, with those Arguments which he thought were like to make most impresson on him; and gave him the Instructions by which the Ambassador was to be guided.

His Friend, who in truth loved him very heartily; though no Man better knew his Infirmities, told him, “whatever the Prince would be disposed to do, “he could not change his opinion in point of Counsel, until the King’s pleasure might be known:” he put him in mind, “how he had been before deceived at *Oxford* by the *Comte de Harcourt*, who “was an Ambassador likewise, as We then thought, “named by ourselves, and whose Instructions he “had likewise drawn; and yet, he could not but “well remember how foully that business had been “managed, and how disobligingly He himself had “been treated by that Ambassador; and therefore “he could not but wonder, that the same Artifices “should again prevail with him; and that he could “imagine that the Instructions he had drawn, would “be at all considered, or pursued, farther than they “might contribute to what the Cardinal for the present designed; of the integrity whereof, they had “no Evidence, but had reason enough to suspect it.

The Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, stayed at *Paris* with the Queen full three Weeks; having only prevailed with her to suspend her present Commands for the Prince’s remove from *Jersey*, until she should have clear Intelligence where the King was, and how he was treated, though she declared a

positive resolution that his Highness should come to *Paris*, let the Intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well assured that his Majesty had put himself into the *Scottish Army* as it lay before *Newark*; and that, as soon as he came thither, he had caused that *Garrison* to deliver the Town into the hands of the *Scots*; and that thereupon the *Scots* marched presently away to *New-Castle*: That they had pressed the King to do many things, which he had absolutely refused to do; and that thereupon they had put very strict Guards upon his Majesty, and would not permit any Man to repair to him, or to speak with him; so that his Majesty looked upon himself as a Prisoner, and resolved to make another Escape from them as soon as he could. *Mr. Ashburnham*, who attended upon him in his Journey from *Oxford* as his sole Servant, was forbid to come any more near him; and if he had not put himself on board a Vessel, then at *New-Castle*, and bound for *France*, the *Scots* would have delivered him up to the Parliament. *Monsieur Montrevil*, the *French Envoy* pretended that they were so incensed against him for briskly expostulating with them for their ill Treatment of the King, that it was no longer safe for him to remain in their Quarters, and more dangerous to return to *London*; and therefore, he had likewise procured a *Dutch Ship* to land him in *France*, and was come to *Paris* before the Lords returned to *Jersey*.

The Queen thought now she had more reason to be confirmed in her former resolution for the speedy remove of the Prince, as it was pretended that he

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had brought a Letter from the King, which was Deciphered by the Lord *Jermyn*; in which, he said, “ that he did believe that the Prince could not be “ safe any where but with the Queen; and therefore “ wished, that if he were not there already, he should “ be speedily sent for; and *Montrevil* professed to have a Message by word of mouth to the same purpose; whereas Mr. *Ashburnham*, who left the King but the day before *Montrevil*, and was as entirely trusted by the King as any Man in *England*, brought no such Message; and confessed to the Lord *Capel*, “ that he thought it very pernicious to the King that “ the Prince should come into *France* in that conjuncture, and before it was known how the *Scots* “ would deal with him; and that the King’s opinion “ of the convenience of his coming into *France*, “ could proceed from nothing but the thought of “ his insecurity in *Jersey*.” The Lord *Capel* offered to undertake a Journey himself to *New-Castle*, and to receive the King’s positive Commands, which he was confident would be submitted to, and obeyed by all the Council as well as by himself; but the Queen was positive, that, without any more delay, the Prince should immediately repair to Her; and, to that purpose, She sent the Lord *Jermyn* (who was Governor of *Jersey*) together with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, who, with the two Lords who had been sent to her by the Prince, should make haste to *Jersey* to see her Commands executed. Whilst they are upon their Journey thither, it will be seasonable to inquire how the King came to

involve himself in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his Liberty and Freedom. B O O K
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Monfieur *Montrevil* was a Person utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourse or correspondence with him; fo that what I fhall fay of him cannot proceed from affection or prejudice, nor if I fhall fay any thing for his vindication from thofe reproaches which he did, and does lie under, both with the *English* and *Scottifh* Nation, countenanced enough by the difcountenance he received from the Cardinal after his return, when he was, after the firft account he had given of his Negotiation, reftained from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in *Paris*, and lay under a formed, declared diflike till his death, which with grief of mind fhortly enfued. But as it is no unusual hard-heartednefs in fuch chief Minifters, to facrifice fuch Instruments, how innocent foever, to their own dark purpofes, fo it is probable, that temporary Cloud would foon have vanifhed, and that it was only caft over him, that he might be thereby fecluded from the converfation of the *English* Court; which muft have been reasonably very inquisitive, and might thereby have difcovered fomewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal: I fay if what I here fet down of that Tranfaction, fhall appear fome vindication of that Gentleman from thofe imputations under which his memory remains blafed, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honefty, to be preferved in Hiftory as the very Soul of it, towards all Perfons who come to be mentioned

A farther
Account of
Monfieur
Montrevil's
Negotiation
with the
Scots.

BOOK X. in it; and since I have in my hands all the original Letters which passed from him to the King, and the King's Answers and Directions thereupon, or such Authentic Copies thereof, as have been by myself examined with the Originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjustly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of those Actions, which appear to have resulted from ingenuity, and upright Intentions, how unsuccessful soever.

He was then a young Gentleman of parts very equal to the Trust the Cardinal reposed in him; and to the Employment he gave him; and of a Nature not inclined to be made use of in ordinary dissimulation and cozenage. Whilst he took his Measures only from the *Scottish* Commissioners at *London*, and from those Presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converse with there, he did not give the King the least Encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any compliance from the one or the other, upon any Cheaper price or condition than the whole alteration of the Government of the Church by Bishops, and an entire Conformity to the Covenant; and he used all the Arguments which occurred to him, to persuade his Majesty that all other hopes of Agreement with them were desperate; and when he saw his Majesty unmoveable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of War, before he would wound his Peace of Mind, and Conscience, with such an odious concession, he undertook that Journey we mentioned in the end of the last Year, to discover whether the same rude and rigid

Spirit, which Governed those Commissioners at *Westminster*, possessed also the Chief Officers of the *Scottish Army*, and that Committee of State that always remained with the Army.

The *Scottish Army* was then before *Newark*; and, in his passage thither, he waited upon the King at *Oxford*; and was confirmed in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his Majesty to give up the Church to the most impetuous Demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environed with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their Ambition or their Profit, which were always Powerful and Irresistible Spells upon that Party, he had ample Authority and Commission to comply with the most extravagant Demands from Persons like to make good what they undertook, except such Propositions as might be mischievous to the Marquis of *Mountrose*; whom the King resolved never to desert, nor any who had joined with and assisted him; all which, he desired to unite to those who might now be persuaded to serve him. His Majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some Persons who had then Command in the *Scottish Army*; of whose Affections and Inclinations to his Service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their Credit, and Courage, and Interest, a greater than was due to them.

When *Montrevil* came to the Army, and after he had endeavoured to undeceive those who had been persuaded to believe, that a peremptory and obstinate

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X. insisting upon the alteration of the Church-Government (the expectation, and assurance whereof, had indeed first enabled them to make that Expedition) would at last prevail over the King's Spirit, as it had done in *Scotland*, he found those in whom the Power, at least the Command of the Army was much more moderate than he expected, and the Committee which presided in the Counsels, rather devising and projecting Expedients how they might recede from the rigor of their former Demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stayed for the coming of the Lord Chancellor out of *Scotland*, who was daily expected, before they would declare their Resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the King offered, and desired to come to them, and remain in the Army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception for Himself, and for his Servants who should attend him, and his Friends who should resort to him; and the principal Officers of the Army spoke of that, as a thing they so much wished, that it could be, in no body's Power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest Power in the Conduct of the most secret Counsels, took pains to be thought to have much franker Resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct Undertakings; and employed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him by the King, to assure him that he might confidently advise his

Majesty to repair to the Army, upon the Terms himself had proposed; and that they would send a good Body of their Horse, to meet his Majesty at any place he should appoint to Conduct him in Safety to them. Upon which encouragement *Montrevil* prepared a Paper to be signed by himself, and sent to the King as his Engagement; and showed it to those who had been most clear to him in their Expressions of duty to the King, which, being approved by them, he sent by the other who had appeared to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest Trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being so reserved towards him, as being necessary in that conjuncture of their Affairs, when there evidently appeared to be the most Hostile jealousy between the Independent Army and them. When the Paper was likewise returned to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the King; which Paper is here faithfully Translated out of the Original.

“ I do promise in the Name of the King and Queen
 “ Regent (my Master and Mistress) and by virtue
 “ of the Powers that I have from their Majesties,
 “ That if the King of Great Britain shall put himself
 “ into the *Scottish* Army, he shall be there received
 “ as their Natural Sovereign; and that he shall be
 “ with them in all freedom of his Conscience and
 “ Honor; and that all such of his Subjects and Ser-
 “ vants as shall be there with him, shall be safely
 “ and honorably protected in their Persons; and
 “ that the said *Scots*. shall really, and effectually
 “ join with the said King of Great Britain; and also

The Paper
Montrevil
 sent to the
 King, being
 a promise
 for the Scots
 receiving the
 King, Apr. 1.

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“ receive all such Persons as shall come in unto him,
 “ and join with them for his Majesty’s Preservation :
 “ And that they shall protect all his Majesty’s Party
 “ to the utmost of their Power, as his Majesty will
 “ Command all those under his obedience to do the
 “ like to them; and that they shall employ their
 “ Armies and Forces , to assist his Majesty in the
 “ procuring of a happy and well grounded Peace,
 “ for the good of his Majesty and his said Kingdoms,
 “ and in recovery of his Majesty’s just Rights. In
 “ witness whereof I have hereunto put my Hand and
 “ Seal, this first of April 1646.”

*De Montrevil, Résident pour sa Majesté très Chrétienne
 en Ecosse.*

Many days had not passed after the sending that Express, when he found such Chagrin, and Tergiversation, in some of those he had treated with, one Man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a Man Authority to say that from him which the other still avowed he had done, that *Montrevil* thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his Majesty of the foul change, and to dissuade him from venturing his Person in the Power of such Men; but the Express who carried that Letter, was taken Prisoner; and though he made his Escape, and preserved his Letter, he could not proceed in his Journey; and was compelled to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having informed the Committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a Property by them to betray the King, and expressed a deep

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resentment of the injury done to the King his Master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appeared again to be of another Temper, and very much to desire his Majesty's Presence in the Army; and to that purpose, they promised, as an unanimous Resolution, "that they
 " would send a considerable party, of Horse to meet
 " his Majesty at *Burton upon Trent*; for that they
 " could not advance farther with the whole party;
 " but that some Horse should be sent to wait upon his
 " Majesty at *Bosworth*, which is the middle way
 " between *Burton* and *Harborough*, whither they
 " hoped his own Horse would be able to Convey him
 " securely;" they desired "the King to appoint the
 " day, and they would not fail to be there." They
 wished, "that when their Troops should meet his
 " Majesty, he would tell them that he was going
 " into *Scotland*; upon which, they would find them-
 " selves obliged to attend him into their Army, with-
 " out being able to discover any thing of a Treaty;
 " of which, the Parliament ought yet to receive no
 " Advertisment:" of all which *Montrevil* gave the
 King a very full and plain Narration, together with
 what he had written before, by his Letter of the 15th
 of the same *April*, to Secretary *Nicholas*; and, in the
 same Letter, he informed his Majesty, "that they
 " did not desire that any of those Forces which had
 " followed the King's Party, should join with them,
 " no nor so much as those Horse that should have
 " accompanied his Majesty, should remain in their
 " Army with him: That they had with much ado
 " agreed, that the two Princes" (for his Majesty,

B O O K upon Prince *Rupert's* humble submission, was reconciled to both his Nephews) "might follow the King, x.
 " with such other of his Servants as were not excepted from pardon; and that they might stay with
 " his Majesty until the Parliament of *England* should demand them; in which case they should not refuse
 " to deliver them; but that they would first furnish them with some means of getting beyond Seas."

The King had proposed, "that there might be a
 " Union between them and the Marquis of *Mountrose*; and that his Forces might be joined with
 " their Army;" which they had said, "they could not consent to, with reference to the person of
 " *Mountrose*; who, after so much blood spilt by him of many of the greatest Families, they thought
 " could not be safe among them: whereupon the King had declared, that he would send him his Extraordinary Ambassador into *France*; which they
 " appeared not to contradict, but had now changed their mind; of which *Montrevil* likewise gave an
 " Account in the same Letter: That they could not give their consent that the Marquis of *Mountrose*
 " should go Ambassador into *France*, but into any other place, he might; and that they again, without limiting the time, insisted upon settling the
 " Presbyterian Government;" and he concluded his Letter with these words, "I will say no more but
 " this, that his Majesty and You know the *Scots* better than I do; I represent these things nakedly to
 " you, as I am obliged to do; I have not taken upon me the boldness to give any Counsel to his Majesty; yet if he hath any other refuge, or means

“ to make better conditions, I think he ought not to
 “ accept of these ; but if he sees all things desperate
 “ every where else, and that he and his Servants
 “ cannot be secure with his Parliament of *England*,
 “ I dare yet assure him, that though He and his Ser-
 “ vants may not be here with all that satisfaction per-
 “ haps which he might desire, yet He especially shall
 “ be as secure as possible.”

In another Letter dated the next day after (the
 16th of *April*) to the same Secretary, he hath these
 words ; “ I have Orders from the Deputies of *Scot-*
 “ *land* to assure you, that they will not herein fail”
 (which related to sending the Horse to meet his Ma-
 jesty) “ as soon as they shall know his day ; and that
 “ the King shall be received into the Army as hath
 “ been promised ;” and that his Conscience shall not
 be forced. And in the last Letter, which his Majesty
 or the Secretary received from him, and which was
 dated the 20th of *April* 1646, there are these words,
 “ They tell me that they will do more than can be
 “ expressed ; but let not his Majesty hope for any
 “ more than I send him word of ; that he may not be
 “ deceived ; and let him take his Measures aright ;
 “ for certainly the Enterprize is full of danger : yet,
 “ in the same Letter, he says the disposition of the
 “ Chiefs of the *Scottish* Army is such as the King can
 “ desire ; they begin to draw off their Troops to-
 “ wards *Burton*, and the hindering his Majesty from
 “ falling into the hands of the *English* is of so great
 “ importance to them, that it cannot be believed
 “ but that they will do all that lies in their Power to
 “ hinder it.”

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This was the proceeding of Monsieur *Montrevil* in that whole Transaction; and if he were too Sanguine upon his first Conversation with the Officers of the *Scottish Army*, and some of the Committee, and when he signed that Engagement upon the first of *April*, he made haste to retract that confidence, and was in all his Despatches afterwards Phlegmatic enough; and, after his Majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular Persons with the Promises and Engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the Cardinal sensible of the Indignity that was offered to that Crown in the violation of those Promises, and Engagements; which was the reason of his being Commanded to return Home, as soon as the King came to *New-Castle*; lest his too keen resentment might irritate the *Scots*, and make it appear to the Parliament how far *France* was engaged in that whole Negotiation; which the Cardinal had no mind should appear to the World; and there can be no doubt, but that the Cautions and Animadversions which the King received from *Montrevil* after his Engagement, would have diverted him from that Enterprize, if his Majesty had discerned any other course to take that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the *Scots*; but he was clearly destitute of any other Refuge. Every day brought the News of the loss of some Garrison; and as *Oxford* was already blocked up at a distance, by those Horse which *Fairfax* had sent out of the West to that purpose, or to wait upon the King, and follow him close, if he should remove out
of

of *Oxford*; so he had soon reduced *Exeter*, and some other Garrisons in *Devonshire*. The Governors then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being Relieved, thought that they might deliver up their Garrisons before they were pressed with the last Extremities, that they might obtain the better Conditions; and yet it was observed that better and more honorable Conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the Places they were trusted with, till they had not one day's Victual left; of which We shall observe more hereafter. By this means *Fairfax* was within three days of *Oxford* before the King left it, or fully resolved what to do.

His Majesty had before sent to two Eminent Commanders of Name, who had blocked up the Town at a distance, "that if they would pass their words" (how slender a security soever, from such Men who had broken so many Oaths, for the Safety of the King) "that they would immediately Conduct him to the Parliament, he would have put himself into their hands;" for he was yet persuaded to think so well of the City of *London*, that he would not have been unwilling to have found himself there; but those Officers would submit to no such Engagements; and great care was taken to have strict Guards round about *London*, that he might not get thither. What should the King do? There was one thing most formidable to him, which he was resolved to avoid, that was, to be inclosed in *Oxford*, and so to be given up, or taken, when the Town should be Surrendered, as a Prisoner to the Independents Army; which he

B O O K was advertised from all hands, would treat him
X. very Barbarouſly.

The King
 leaves Oxford
 Apr. 27. 1646.

In this perplexity, he choſe rather to commit himſelf to the *Scottiſh Army*; which yet he did not truſt ſo far as to give them notice of his Journey, by ſending for a Party of their Horſe to meet him, as they had proffered; but early in the Morning upon the 27th day of *April*, he went out of *Oxford*, attended only by *John Aſhburnham*, and a Divine (one *Hudſon*) who underſtood the by-ways as well as the common, and was indeed a very ſkilful Guide. In this Equipage he left *Oxford* on a *Monday*, leaving thoſe of his Council in *Oxford*, who were privy to his going out, not informed whether he would go to the *Scottiſh Army*, or get privately into *London*, and lie there concealed, till he might chuſe that which was beſt; and it was generally believed, that he had not within himſelf at that time a fixed reſolution what he would do; which was the more credited becauſe it was nine days after his leaving *Oxford*, before it was known where the King was; inſomuch as *Fairfax*, who came before it the fifth day after his Majeſty was gone, was ſat down, and had made his Circumvallation about *Oxford*, before he knew that the King was in the *Scottiſh Army*; but the King had waſted that time in ſeveral Places; whereof ſome were Gentlemen's Houſes (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of) purpoſely to be informed of the condition of the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, and to find ſome ſecure paſſage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly deſire; but in the end, went into the *Scottiſh Army* before *Newark*, and ſent for *Montreuil* to come to him.

Puts himſelf
 into the
 Scottiſh Ar.
 my before
 Newark.

It was very early in the Morning when the King went to the General's Lodging, and discovered himself to him; who either was, or seemed to be, exceedingly surpris'd, and confounded at his Majesty's presence; and knew not what to say; but presently gave notice of it to the Committee, who were no less perplexed. An Express was presently sent to the Parliament at *Westminster*, to inform them of the unexpected News, as a thing the *Scots* had not the least imagination of. The Parliament were so disordered with the Intelligence, that at first they resolv'd to command their General to raise the Siege before *Oxford*, and to march with all expedition to *Newark*; but the *Scottish* Commissioners at *London*, diverted them from that, by assuring them "that all their Orders would meet with an absolute obedience in their Army:" so they made a short despatch to them, in which it was evident that they believed the King had gone to them by invitation, and not out of his own free choice; and implying, "that they should shortly receive farther direction from them;" and in the mean time, "that they should carefully watch that his Majesty did not dispose himself to some whither else." The great care in the Army, was, that there might be only respect and good manners shew'd towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the General never ask'd the Word of him, or any Orders, nor, willingly, suffer'd the Officers of the Army to resort to, or to have any discourse with his Majesty. *Montrevil* was ill look'd upon, as the Man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their consent; but he was

Their manner
of treating
his Majesty.

B O O K

X.

The King ordered Newark to be surrendered where upon the Scottish Army marches Northward with the King to New-castle.

not frightened from owning and declaring what had passed between them, what they had promised, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he received, he was not without apprehension, that *Fairfax* might be forthwith appointed to decline all other Enterprises, and to bring himself near the *Scottish Army*, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the Lord *Bellasis* to Surrender *Newark*, that the *Scots* might march Northward; which they resolved to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for some Months longer from the Enemy, upon honorable conditions, that Army with great expedition marched towards *New-Castle*; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was still the same; and great strictness used that he might not confer with any Man who was not well known to them, much less receive Letters from any.

It was an observation in that time, that the first publishing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, and his manner of discourse upon it, the Auditors might judge, and commonly foresaw, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The first Sermon that was preached before the King, after the Army rose from *Newark* to march Northwards, was upon the 19. chap. of the 2 Book of *Samuel*, the 41. 42, and 43 verses.

41. *And behold, all the men of Israel came to the King, and said unto the King, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and have brought*

the King and his household, and all David's men with him over Jordan? BOOK X.

42. *And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the King is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the King's cost? or hath he given us any gift?*
43. *And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the King, and we have also more right in David than ye: why then did ye despise us that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our King? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.*

Upon which words, the Preacher gave Men cause to believe, that now they had gotten their King they resolved to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his Majesty came no sooner to *New-Castle*, than both Monsieur *Montrevil* was restrained from having any conference with him, and Mr. *Ashburnham* was advised “to shift for himself, or else that he should be delivered up to the Parliament;” and both the one, and the other, were come to *Paris* when the Queen sent those Lords to hasten the Prince's remove from *Jersey*. Where Montrevil was restrained, from him.

When those Lords, with their great Train, came to *Jersey*, which was towards the end of *June*, they brought with them a Letter from the Queen to the Prince; in which she told him, “that she was now fully satisfied, from the Intelligence she had from *New-Castle* and *London*, that he could not make The Lord Jermyn and other Lords arrive at Jersey, about the end of June, from the Queen, &c

B O O K

X.

bring the
Prince into
France.

“ any longer residence in *Jersey* without apparent
 “ danger of falling into the Enemies hands; and that
 “ if he should continue there, all possible attempts
 “ would be suddenly made, as well by Treachery
 “ as by Force, to get his Person into their Power;
 “ and therefore, her Majesty did positively require
 “ him, to give immediate obedience to the King’s
 “ Commands, mentioned in the Letter which he had
 “ lately sent by Sir *Dudley Wyat*” (which is set out
 before) “ and reiterated in a Letter which she had
 “ since received from the King by Monsieur *Montre-*
 “ *vil.*” Her Majesty said, “ that she had the greatest
 “ assurance from the Crown of *France*, that possibly
 “ could be given, for his honorable reception, and
 “ full liberty to continue there, and to depart from
 “ thence, at his pleasure; and she engaged her own
 “ word, that whenever his Council should find it fit
 “ for him to go out of *France*, she would never op-
 “ pose it; and that during his residence in that King-
 “ dom, all matters of importance which might con-
 “ cern himself, or relate to his Majesty’s affairs, should
 “ be debated and resolved by himself and the Coun-
 “ cil, in such manner as they ought to have been, if
 “ he had continued in *England*, or in *Jersey*:” and
 concluded, “ that he should make all possible haste
 “ to her.”

The Lords which arrived with this despatch from
 her Majesty, had no imagination that there would
 have been any question of his Highness’ compliance
 with the Queen’s command; and therefore, as soon
 as they had kissed the Prince’s hand, which was in
 the Afternoon, they desired that the Council might

presently be called; and when they came together, the Lords *Jermyn*, *Digby*, and *Wentworth*, being likewise present, and sitting in the Council, they desired the Prince “that his Mother’s Letter might he read;” and then, since they conceived there could be no debate upon his Highness’ yielding obedience to the Command of the King and Queen, that they might only consider of the day when he might begin his Journey, and of the order he would observe in it. The Lords of the Council represented to the Prince, that they were the only Persons that were accountable to the King, and to the Kingdom, for any resolution his Highness should take, and for the Consequence thereof; and that the other Lords who were present, had no Title to deliver their advice, or to be present at the debate, they being in no degree responsible for what his Highness should resolve to do; and therefore desired that the whole matter might be debated; the State of the King’s present Condition understood as far as it might be; and the Reasons considered which made it Counsellable for his Highness to repair into *France*, and what might be said against it; and the rather, because it was very notorious that the King had given no positive direction in the Point, but upon a Supposition that the Prince could not remain secure in *Jersey*; which was likewise the ground of the Queen’s last command; and which they believed had no Foundation of Reason; and that his Residence there might be very unquestionably safe.” This begot some warmth, and contradiction between Persons; insomuch as

Debates in
the Prince’s
Council concerning his
going.

X.

B O O K the Prince thought it very necessary to suspend the
 X. debate till the next day, to the end that by several
 and private Conferences together between the Lords
 who came from *Paris*, and those who were in *Jersey*,
 they might convert, or confirm each other in the
 same opinions; at least that the next debate might be
 free from Passion and Unkindness; and so the Coun-
 cil rose, and the several Lords betook themselves to
 use the same Arguments, or such as they thought
 more agreeable to the several Persons, as the Lord
Digby had before done to his Friend, and with the
 same success.

The Lord
Capel delivers
 his opinion
 against it.

The next day when they were called together, the
 Lord *Capel* gave an account of all that had passed
 with the Queen from the time that the Lord *Colepepper*
 and he came thither; and “ that the reasons they
 “ had carried from the Prince, had so far prevailed
 “ with the Queen, that her Majesty resolved to take
 “ no final resolution till she received farther Adver-
 “ tisement of the King’s pleasure; and he did not think
 “ that the information she had received from Mon-
 “ sieur *Montrevil*, had weight enough to produce the
 “ quick resolution it had done: that he thought it
 “ still most absolutely necessary, to receive the King’s
 “ positive Command before the Prince should re-
 “ move out of his Majesty’s own Dominions; there
 “ being no shadow of cause to suspect his security
 “ there: That he had then offered to the Queen,
 “ that he would himself make a Journey to *New-*
 “ *Castle* to receive his Majesty’s Commands; and
 “ that he now made the same offer to the Prince; and
 “ because it did appear that his Majesty was very

“ strictly guarded, and that Persons did not easily
“ find access to him. and that his own Person might
“ be seized upon in his Journey thither, or his stay
“ there, or his return back, and so his Highness might
“ be disappointed of the Information he expected,
“ and remain still in the same uncertainty as to a reso-
“ lution, he did propose, and consent to, as his
“ opinion, that if he did not return again to *Jersey*
“ within the space of one Month, the Prince should
“ resolve to remove into *France*, if in the mean time
“ such preparatories were made there, as he thought
“ were necessary, and were yet defective.”

He said, “ he had been lately at *Paris* by the
“ Prince’s Command; and had received many Gra-
“ ces from the Queen, who had vouchsafed to im-
“ part all her own Reasons for the Prince’s remove,
“ and the grounds for the confidence she had of the
“ Affections of *France*; but, that he did still wonder,
“ if the Court of *France* had so great a desire, as was
“ pretended, that the Prince of *Wales* should repair
“ thither, that in the two Months time his Highness
“ had been in *Jersey*, they had never sent a Gentle-
“ man to see him, and to invite him to come thither;
“ nor had these who came now from the Queen,
“ brought so much as a Pass for him to come into
“ *France*: that he could not but observe, that all We
“ had hitherto proposed to ourselves from *France*,
“ had proved in no degree answerable to our expec-
“ tations; as the five thousand Foot, which We had
“ expected in the West before the Prince came from
“ thence; and that We had more reason to be jealous
“ now than ever, since it had been by the advice of

B O O K “ *France*, that the King had now put himself into the
 X. “ hands of the *Scots*; and therefore We ought to be
 “ the more watchful in the disposing the Person of
 “ the Prince by their advice likewise.” He concluded,
 “ that he could not give his advice, or consent, that
 “ the Prince should repair into *France*, till the King’s
 “ pleasure might be known, or such other circum-
 “ stances might be provided in *France*, as had been
 “ hitherto neglected.”

The Argu-
 ments of the
 Lord Digby
 and Lord
 Jermyn for it.

The Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Jermyn* wondered
 very much, “ that there should be any doubt of the
 “ affections of *France*, or that it should be believed
 “ that the Queen could be deceived, or not well
 “ enough informed in that particular:” They related
 many particulars which had passed between the Car-
 dinal and them in private Conferences, and the great
 professions of affection he made to the King. They
 said, “ that the Ambassador who was now appointed
 “ to go thither, was chosen by the Queen herself,
 “ and had no other Instructions but what she had
 “ given him; and that he was not to stay there
 “ above a Month; at the end of which he was to de-
 “ nounce War against the Parliament, if they did
 “ not comply with such Propositions as he made;
 “ and so to return; and then, that there should be
 “ an Army of thirty thousand Men immediately
 “ Transported into *England*, with the Prince of
 “ *Wales* in the head of them; that the Ambassador
 “ was already gone from *Paris*, but was not to Em-
 “ bark till he should first receive Advertisement that
 “ the Prince of *Wales* was landed in *France*; for that
 “ *France* had no reason to interest themselves so far

“ in the King’s Quarrel, if the Prince of *Wales* should
 “ refuse to venture his Person with them; or, it may
 “ be, engage against them upon another Interest. B O O K
X.

They therefore besought the Prince, and the Lords
 “ that they would consider well, whether he would
 “ disappoint his Father and himself of so great Fruit
 “ as they were even ready to Gather, and of which
 “ they could not be disappointed but by unseason-
 “ able jealousies of the Integrity of *France*, and by
 “ delaying to give them satisfaction in the remove
 “ of the Prince from *Jersey*.

These Arguments pressed with all the assurance
 imaginable, by Persons of that near Trust and Con-
 fidence with the King, who were not like to be de-
 ceived Themselves, nor to have any purpose to de-
 ceive the Prince, wrought so far with his Highness,
 that he declared “ he would comply with the Com-
 “ mands of the Queen, and forthwith remove into
 “ *France* ;” which being resolved, he wished “ there
 “ might be no more debate upon that point, but
 “ that they would all prepare to go with him, and
 “ that there might be as great an Unity in their Coun-
 “ sels, as had hitherto always been.

The Prince
 resolves to go
 into France,

This so positive Declaration of the Prince of his
 own Resolution, made all farther Arguments against
 it not only useless but indecent; and therefore they
 replied not to that Point, yet every Man of the
 Council, the Lord *Colepepper* only excepted, besought
 his Highness, “ that he would give them his Pardon,
 “ if they did not farther wait upon him; for they
 “ conceived their Commission to be now at an end;
 “ and that they could not assume any Authority by

All but one of
 his Council
 dissent, and
 stay behind.

BOOK
X.

“ it to themselves, if they waited upon him into
“ *France*; nor expect that their Counsels there
“ should be hearkened unto. when they were now
“ rejected.” And so, after some sharp replies between
the Lords of different Judgments, which made the
Council break up the sooner, they who resolved not
to go into *France* took their leaves of the Prince, and
kissed his hand; his Highness then declaring, “ that
“ he would be gone the next day by five of the
“ Clock in the Morning ” though the cross Winds,
and want of some Provisions which were necessary
for the Journey detained him there four or five days
longer; during which time, the Dissenting Lords
every day waited upon him, and were received by
him very Graciously; his Highness well knowing
and expressing to them a confidence in their Affec-
tions, and that they would be sure to wait upon
him, whenever his occasions should be ready for
their Service. But between them and the other Lords,
there grew by degrees so great a strangeness, that,
the last day, they did not so much as speak to each
other; they who came from the Queen taking it
very ill, that the others had presumed to dissent from
what her Majesty had so positively Commanded.
And though they neither loved their Persons, nor
cared for their Company, and without doubt, if they
had gone into *France*, would have made them
quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that Conjuncture,
they believed that the Dissent and Separation of all
those Persons who were trusted by the King with the
Person of the Prince, would blast their Counsel, and
weigh down the single positive Determination of the
Queen herself.

On the other side, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to Persons so intrusted; but that in truth many ill consequences would result from that sudden departure of the Prince out of the King's Dominions, where his residence might have been secure in respect of the Affairs of *England*; where, besides the Garrisons of *Scilly* and *Pendennis* (which might always be relieved by Sea) there remained still within his Majesty's Obedience, *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, *Ludlow*, and some other places of less name; which, upon any divisions among themselves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turned the Scale: Nor did they know, of what ill consequence it might be to the King, that in such a conjuncture the Prince should be removed, when it might be more Counsellable that he should appear in *Scotland*.

Moreover, Mr. *Ashburnham*'s opinion, which he had delivered to the Lord *Capel*, wrought very much upon them; for that a Man so entirely trusted by the King, who had seen him as lately as any Body, should bring no directions from his Majesty to his Son, and that he should believe, that it was fitter for the Prince to stay in *Jersey* than to remove into *France*, till his Majesty's pleasure was better understood, confirmed them in the judgment they had delivered.

But there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made Privy to it, and which, out of Duty to the Queen, they thought not fit to publish, or insist upon; it was the Instructions given to *Bellievre* (and which too much manifested the irreso-

B O O K

X.

B O O K lution her Majesty had) not to insist upon what they
x. well knew the King would never depart from; for, though that Ambassador was required to do all he could to persuade the Presbyterians to join with the King's Party, and not to insist upon the destruction of the Church, yet if he found that could not be compassed, He was to press, as the advice of the King his Master, his Majesty to part with the Church, and to satisfy the Presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his Wife, and of his own Party; which method was afterwards observed and pursued by *Bellicre*; which those Lords perfectly abhorred; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to those Counsels that had begun, and were to carry on that Confusion.

Within a day or two after the Prince's departure from *Jersey*, the Earl of *Berkshire* left it likewise, and went for *England*; the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remained together in *Jersey* to expect the King's pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his Majesty's Service; of all which they found an opportunity to inform his Majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewise waited upon the Prince into *France*, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted those violent Pressures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more disquiet than he suffered from all the Insolence of his Enemies.

In a word, if the King's Fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixed Rules of policy and

discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with such a Torrent, as carried down all obstructions of Sobriety and Wisdom, and made the Confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so sudden remove of the Prince from *Jersey* with all the Circumstances thereof, might have been looked upon, and Censured with Severity, as an Action that swerved from that prudence which by the fundamental Rules of policy had been long established; but by the Fatal and prodigious Calamities which followed, all Counsels of wise and unwise Men proving equally unsuccessful, the Memory of what had passed before, grew to be the less thought upon and considered.

Whilst these things were thus Transacted in other Parts, the King remained yet in the *Scottish* Army; that People behaving themselves in such a manner, that most Men believed they would never have parted with his Majesty till a full Peace had been made. The Parliament made many sharp Instances “that the King might be delivered into their hands;” and that the *Scottish* Army would return into their own Country, having done what they were sent for, and the War being at an end.” To which the Council of *Scotland* seemed to Answer with courage enough, and insisted most on those Arguments of the King’s legal Rights, which had been, in all his Majesty’s Declarations, urged against the Parliament’s proceedings; and which indeed could never be Answered; and as much condemned Them, as the Parliament.

In the mean time, though the King received all

B O O K

X.

Transactions
relating to the
King in the
Scottish Army.

I O O R outward Respect, he was in truth in the condition
X. of a Prisoner; no Servant whom he could Trust
 suffered to come to him; and though many Persons
 of Quality who had served the King in the War,
 when they saw the resolute Answers made by the
Scots, “that they neither would nor could compel
 “their King to return to the Parliament, if his Ma-
 “jesty had no mind to do so, repaired to *New-Castle*,
 “where his Majesty was,” yet none of them were
 suffered to speak to him; nor could he receive from,
 or send any Letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet
 the *Scots* observed all distances, and performed all
 the Ceremonies as could have been expected if they
 had indeed treated him as their King; and made as
 great profession to him of their Duty and good pur-
 poses, “which they said they would manifest as soon
 “as it should be seasonable; and then his Servants,
 “and Friends should repair to him with all Liberty,
 “and be well received:” and as they endeavoured
 to persuade the King to expect this from them, so
 they prevailed with many Officers of that Army, and
 some of the Nobility, to believe that they meant
 well, but that it was not yet time to discover their
 Intentions.

The King
 sends to the
 Marquis of
 Mountrose
 to disband;
 which he did.

Thus they prevailed with the King to send his po-
 sitive Orders to the Marquis of *Mountrose*, who had
 indeed done Wonders, to lay down his Arms, and
 to leave the Kingdom; till when, they pretended
 they could not declare for his Majesty; and this
 was done with so much earnestness and by a parti-
 cular Messenger known and Trusted, that the Mar-
 quis obeyed, and Transported himself into *France*.

Then

Then they employed their *Alexander Henderson*, **B O O K**
 and their other Clergy, to persuade the King to con- **X.**
 sent to the Extirpation of Episcopacy in *England*, **They employ**
 as he had in *Scotland*; and it was, and is still believed, **Henderson to**
 that if his Majesty would have been induced to have **he King to**
 satisfied them in that particular, they would either **dispute with**
 have had a Party in the Parliament at *Westminster* to **him concern-**
 have been satisfied therewith, or that they would **ing Church.**
 thereupon have declared for the King, and have **Government**
 presently joined with the Loyal Party in all places
 for his Majesty's defence. But the King was too Con-
 scientious to buy his Peace at so Prophan and Sacri-
 legious a price as was demanded, and he was so much
 too hard for Mr. *Henderson* in the Argumentation
 (as appears by the Papers that passed between them,
 which were shortly after Communicated to the world)
 that the old Man himself was so far Convinced,
 and Converted, that he had a very deep sense of the
 mischief he had himself been the Author of, or too
 much contributed to, and lamented it to his nearest
 Friends, and Confidants; and died of grief, and **Mr. Henderson**
 heart-broken, within a very short time after he de- **dies shortly**
 parted from his Majesty. **after.**

Whilst the King stayed at *New-Castle*, *Bellievre*
 the *French* Ambassador, who was sent from *Paris*
 after the Prince arrived there, and by whom the
 Cardinal had promised to press the Parliament so
 imperiously, and to denounce a War against them if
 they refused to yield to what was reasonable towards
 an Agreement with the King, came to his Majesty, **Bellievre's**
 after he had spent some time at *London* in all the low **negotiations**
 Application to the Parliament that can be imagined, **at London,**
 and with the

B O O K

X.

King after.
wards at New-
Castle.

without any mention of the King with any tenderness, as if his Interest were at all considered by the King his Master, and without any consultation with those of his Majesty's Party; who were then in *London*, and would have been very ready to have advised with him. But he chose rather to converse with the principal Leaders of the Presbyterian Party in the Parliament, and with the *Scottish* Commissioners; from whose Information he took all his Measures; and they assured him "that nothing could be done for the King, except he would give up the Church; extirpate Episcopacy; and grant all the Lands belonging to Cathedral-Churches to such Uses as the Parliament should advise;" so that, when he came to the King, he pressed him very earnestly to that Condescension.

But, besides the matter proposed, in which his Majesty was unmoveable, he had no esteem of any thing the Ambassador said to him, having too late discovered the little affection the Cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, as hath been already said, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and assurance that his Majesty should be well received in the *Scottish* Army, and that they would be firm to his Interest, his Majesty had ventured to put himself into their hands; and he was no sooner there, than all they with whom *Montrevil* had Treated, disavowed their undertaking what the King had been informed of; and though the Envoy did avow, and justify, what he had informed the King, to the Faces of the Persons who had given their Engagements, the Cardinal chose rather to

Recal, and Discountenance the Minister of that B O O K
 Crown, than to enter into any Expostulation with X.
 the Parliament, or the *Scots*.

The Ambassador, by an Express, quickly informed the Cardinal that the King was too reserved in giving the Parliament satisfaction; and therefore wished, “ that some Body might be sent over, who was like “ to have so much credit with his Majesty as to per- “ suade him to what was necessary for his Service.”

Upon which, the Queen, who was never advised by those who either understood, or valued his true Interest, consulted with those about her; and sent Sir William Davenant sent from the Queen to the King to persuade him to give up the Church.
Sir William Davenant, an honest Man, and a Witty, but in all respects inferior to such a Trust, with a Letter of credit to the King (who knew the Person well enough under another Character than was like to give him much credit in the Argument in which he was instructed) although her Majesty had likewise other ways declared her opinion to his Majesty, “ that he should part with the Church for his Peace “ and Security.”

Sir William Davenant had, by the countenance of the *French* Ambassador, easy admission to the King; who heard him patiently all he had to say, and answered him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleased with the advice. When he found his Majesty unsatisfied, and that he was not like to consent to what was so earnestly desired by them by whose advice he was sent, who undervalued all those scruples of Conscience which his Majesty himself was strongly possessed with, he took upon himself the confidence to offer some Reasons to the King to

B O O K induce him to yield to what was proposed ; and,
 X. among other things, said, “ it was the advice and
 “ opinion of all his Friends ;” his Majesty asking,
 “ what Friends ?” and he answering, “ that it was
 “ the opinion of the Lord *Jermyn*,” the King said,
 “ that the Lord *Jermyn* did not understand any thing
 “ of the Church. The other said, the Lord *Colepepper*
 “ was of the same mind.” The King said, *Colepepper*
 had no Religion : and asked, “ whether the Chan-
 “ cellor of the Exchequer was of that mind ?” to
 which he answered, “ he did not know ; for that he
 “ was not there, and had deserted the Prince :” and
 thereupon, said somewhat from the Queen of the
 displeasure she had conceived against the Chancellor ;
 to which the King said, “ the Chancellor was an
 “ honest Man, and would never desert Him, nor
 “ the Prince, nor the Church ; and that he was
 “ sorry he was not with his Son ;” but that his
 Wife was mistaken. *Davenant* then offering some
 reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the Church
 slightly, as if it were not of Importance enough
 to weigh down the benefit that would attend the
 concession, his Majesty was transported with so
 much indignation, that he gave him a sharper repre-
 hension than was usual for him to give to any other
 Man ; and forbid him to presume to come again into
 his Presence. Whereupon the poor Man, who had
 in truth very good Affections, was exceedingly
 dejected and afflicted ; and returned into *France*, to
 give an Account of his ill Success to those who
 sent him.

As all Men's expectations from the Courage and

Activity of the *French* Ambassador in *England*, were thus frustrated, by his mean and low Carriage both towards the Parliament and at *New-Castle*, so all the professions which had been made of respect and tenderness towards the Prince of *Wales*, when his Person should once appear in *France*, were as unworthily disappointed. The Prince had been above two Months with the Queen his Mother, before any Notice was taken of his being in *France*, by the least Message sent from the Court to Congratulate his arrival there; but that time was spent in debating the Formalities of his Reception; how the King should treat him? and how he should behave himself towards the King? whether he should take place of Monsieur the King's Brother? and what kind of Ceremonies should be observed between the Prince of *Wales*, and his Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*? and many such other particulars; in all which they were resolved to give the Law themselves; and which had been fitter to have been adjusted in *Jersey*, before he put himself into their Power, than disputed afterwards in the Court of *France*; from which there could be then no Appeal.

B O O K I
X.
The Prince's
treatment
when He came
into France.

There can be no doubt but that the Cardinal, who was the sole Minister of State, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be said, did think the presence of the Prince there of the highest importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his Power, to persuade the Queen that it was as necessary for the affairs of the King her Husband, and of her Majesty: but now that work was over, and the Person of the Prince brought into their power,

BOOK without the least public Act or Ceremony to invite
X. him thither, it was no less his care that the Parliament in *England*, and the Officers of the Army, whom he feared more than the Parliament, should believe that the Prince came thither without their wish, and in truth against their will; that the Crown of *France* could not refuse to interpose, and mediate, to make up the difference between the Parliament and the *Scottish* Nation, and that the Kingdoms might be restored to Peace; but that when they had performed that Office of Mediation, they had performed their Function; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the *Scots*, than they had done between the King and the Parliament; and that since the Prince had come to the Queen his Mother, from which they could not reasonably restrain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the Peace of *England*; nor should he there find any means, or assistance, to disturb it. And it was believed by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the Cardinal then laid the Foundation for that Friendship which was shortly after built up between him and *Cromwell*, by promising "that they should receive less inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in *France*, than if he were in any other part of *Europe*." And it can hardly be believed, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be looked upon as supported by them either according to his Dignity, or for the maintenance of his Family; but a mean addition to the Pen-

sion, which the Queen had before, was made to her Majesty, without any mention of the Prince her Son; who was wholly to depend upon her Bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own Servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the Queen's goodness and favor, and so behave themselves accordingly.

When the *Scots* had secured the peace and quiet of their own Country, by Disbanding the Forces under the Marquis of *Mountrose*, and by his Transporting himself beyond the Seas, and by putting to death several Persons of Name who had followed the Marquis, and had been taken Prisoners, among whom Sir *Robert Spotswood* was one, a worthy honest Loyal Gentleman, and as wise a Man as that Nation had at that time (whom the King had made Secretary of State of that Kingdom, in the place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was then in Arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death) And when they had with such Solemnity and Resolution made it plain and evident, that they could not, without the most barefaced violation of their Faith and Allegiance, and of the fundamental principle of Christian Religion, ever deliver up their Native King, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the Parliament, against his own Will and Consent: And when the Earl of *Lowden* had publicly declared to the two Houses of Parliament in a Conference, "that an Eternal Infamy
" would lie upon them, and the whole Nation, if
" they should deliver the Person of the King; the
" securing of which was equally their Duty, as it

B O O K

X.

“ was the Parliament’s, and the disposal of his Person
 “ in order to that security did equally belong to
 “ Them as to the Parliament ; however , they said ,
 “ they would use all the persuasion , and all the im-
 “ portunity they could with the King that his Ma-
 “ jesty might yield , and consent to the propositions
 “ the Parliament had sent to him.”

The Parliament had, upon the first notice of the King’s being arrived in the *Scottish* Army, sent a positive Command to the Committee of both Kingdoms residing in the *Scottish* Army, that the Person of the King should be forthwith sent to *Warwick-Castle*; but the *Scots*, who apprehended they could not be long without such an Order, had, within two days after his Majesty’s coming to them, and after he had caused *Newark* to be delivered up, with wonderful expedition marched towards *New-Castle*; and were arrived there before they received that Order for sending his Majesty to *Warwick*; which proceeding of theirs, pleased his Majesty very well, among many other things which displeased him; and persuaded him, that though they would observe their own method, they would, in the end, do somewhat for his Service.

Upon the receiving that Order, they renewed their professions to the Parliament of observing punctually all that had been agreed between them; and besought them, “ that since they had promised the King, before
 “ he left *Oxford*, to send Propositions to him, they
 “ would now do it; and said, that if he refused to
 “ comply with them, to which they should persuade
 “ him, they knew what they were to do.” Then

they advised the King, and prevailed with him, to send Orders to the Governor of *Oxford* to make conditions, and to surrender that place (where his Son the Duke of *York* was, and all the Council) into the hands of *Fairfax*, who with his Army then besieged them and likewise to publish a general Order (which they caused to be printed) "that all Governors of
 "any Garrisons for his Majesty, should immediately
 "deliver them up to the Parliament upon fair and
 "honorable Conditions, since his Majesty resolved in
 "all things to be advised by his Parliament; and till
 "this was done, they said, they could not declare
 "themselves in that manner for his Majesty's Service,
 "and Interest, as they resolved to do; for that they
 "were, by their Treaty and Confederacy, to serve
 "the Parliament in such manner as they should direct,
 "until the War should be ended; but, that done they
 "had no more obligations to the Parliament; and that,
 "when his Majesty had no more Forces on foot, nor
 "Garrisons which held out for him, it could not be
 "denied but that the War was at an end; and then
 "they could speak and expostulate with freedom."
 By which arts, they prevailed with the King to send, and publish such Orders as aforesaid: and which indeed, as the case then stood, he could have received little benefit by not publishing.

The Parliament was contented, as the more expedite way (though they were much offended at the presumption of the *Scots* in neglecting to send the King to *Warwick*) to send their Propositions to the King (which they knew his Majesty would never grant) by Commissioners of both Houses, who

BOOK
 X.

The King, upon the Scots desire sends Orders for the Surrender of Oxford, and all his other Garrisons.

The Parliament, upon the Scots request, sends Propositions of Peace to the King at New-Castle; about the end of July.

B O O K had no other Authority, or Power, than “ to
x. “ demand a positive Answer from the King in ten
 “ days, and then to return.” These Propositions
 were delivered about the end of *July*; and contained
 such an eradication of the Government of the Church
 and State, that the King told them, “ he knew not
 His Majesty’s “ what Answer to make to them, till he should be
 Answer. “ informed what Power or Authority they had left
 “ to him, and his Heirs, when he had given all that
 “ to them which they desired.” He desired, “ that he
 “ might be removed to some of his own Houses, and
 “ that he might reside there till, upon a Personal
 “ Treaty with this Parliament, such an agreement
 “ might be established as the Kingdom might enjoy
 “ peace and happiness under it; which, he was sure,
 “ it could never do by the concessions they pro-
 “ posed.”

The *Scots*, who were enough convinced that his Majesty could never be wrought upon to sacrifice the Church to their wild lusts and impiety, were as good as their words to the Parliament, and used all the rude importunity and Threats to his Majesty, to persuade him freely to consent to all: though they confessed “ that the Propositions were higher in
 “ many things than they approved of, yet they saw
 “ no other means for him to close with his Parlia-
 “ ment, than by granting what they required.”

The Scots in-
 force the Par-
 liament’s Pro-
 positions by
 their Chan-
 cellor.

The Chancellor of *Scotland* told him, “ that the
 “ consequence of his Answer to the Propositions,
 “ was as great, as the ruin, or preservation of his
 “ Crown or Kingdoms: That the Parliament after
 “ many bloody Battles, had got the strong-holds and

“ Forts of the Kingdom into their hands: that they
 “ had his Revenue, Excise, Assessments, Sequestra-
 “ tions, and power to raise all the Men and Money
 “ of the Kingdom: that they had gained Victory
 “ over all, and that they had a strong Army to
 “ maintain it; so that they might do what they would
 “ with Church or State: that they desired neither
 “ Him, nor any of his Race, longer to Reign over
 “ them; and had sent these Propositions to his Ma-
 “ jesty, without the granting whereof, the Kingdom
 “ and his People could not be in safety: that if he
 “ refused to Assent, he would lose all his Friends in
 “ Parliament, lose the City, and lose the Country;
 “ and that all *England* would join against him as one
 “ Man to process, and depose him, and to set up
 “ another Government; and so, that both King-
 “ doms, for either’s safety, would agree to settle
 “ Religion and Peace without him, to the ruin of his
 “ Majesty, and his Posterity: and concluded, that
 “ if he left *England*, he would not be admitted to
 “ come and Reign in *Scotland*.”

And it is very true that the General Assembly of
 the Kirk, which was then sitting in *Scotland*, had
 petitioned the Conservators of the Peace of the King-
 dom, “ that if the King should refuse to give satisfac-
 “ tion to his Parliament, he might not be permitted
 “ to come into *Scotland*.” This kind of Argumenta-
 tion did more provoke than persuade the King; he
 told them, with great Resolution, and Magnanimity,
 “ that no condition they could reduce him to, could
 “ be half so miserable, and grievous to him, as that
 “ which they would persuade him to reduce himself
 “ to; and therefore, bid them proceed their own

B O O K
 X.
 His Majesty's
 Answer to
 them.

B O O K " way; and that though They had all forsaken him,
 X. " God had not."

The Parlia-
 ment require
 the Scots to
 quit the King-
 dom and to d-
 liver up the
 Person of the
 King.

The Parliament had now received the Answer they expected; and, forthwith, required " the Scots " to quit the Kingdom, and to deliver the Person of " the King to such Persons as they should appoint to " receive him;" who should attend upon his Majesty from *New-Castle* to *Holmby*, a House of his at a small distance from *Northampton*. a Town and Country of very eminent disaffection to the King throughout the War; and declared " that his Majesty should be " treated with respect to the safety and preservation " of his Person, according to the Covenant: and " that after his coming to *Holmby*, he should be " attended by such as they should appoint; and " that when the Scots were removed out of *England*, " the Parliament would join with their Brethren of " *Scotland*, again to persuade the King to pass the " Propositions; which if he refused to do, the " House would do nothing that might break the " Union of the two Kingdoms, but would endeavour " to preserve the same."

The Scots now begun again to talk sturdily, and denied " that the Parliament of *England* had power ab- " solutely to dispose of the Person of the King without " their approbation;" and the Parliament as loudly replied, " that they had nothing to do in *England*, " but to observe their Orders;" and added such Threats to their Reasons, as might let them see they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact obedience from them, if they refused to yield it. But these discourses were only kept up till they could ad- just all Accounts between them, and agree what price

they should pay for the delivery of His Person whom one side was resolved to have, and the other as-
 solved not to keep; and so they agreed; and, upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, the *Scots* delivered the King up into such hands as the Parliament appointed to receive Him.

B O O K
X.
 The Scots agree to deliver up the King.

In this infamous manner that excellent Prince was, in the end of *January*, given up, by his *Scottish* Subjects, to those of his *English* who were intrusted by the Parliament to receive Him; which had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons to go to the place agreed upon with a Party of Horse and Foot of the Army, which were subject to the Orders of that Committee; and the Committee itself to go to *New-Castle* to receive that Town as well as the King; where, and to whom, his Majesty was delivered.

They received Him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the *Scots*, and with the same strictness restrained all resort of those to his Majesty, who were of doubtful Affections to them, and their Cause. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the Parliament, to attend upon his Person, and Service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferred those who had faithfully adhered to them against their Master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their Affection to them. And, in this distribution, the Presbyterian Party in the Houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all. The Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till

The Committee appointed by the Parliament receive the King at New Castle in the end of January. Servants appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majesty.

BOOK they had dismissed their Friends, the *Scots*, out of
 X. the Kingdom; and permitting them to put Men of
 their principles about the Person of the King, and to
 chuse such a Guard as they could confide in, to
 attend his Majesty.

The Kings is
 brought to
 Holmby.

Of the Committee employed to govern and direct
 all, Major-General *Brown* was one, who had a great
 Name and Interest in the City, and with all the Per-
 byterian Party, and had done great Service to the
 Parliament in the War under the Earl of *Essex*, and
 was a diligent and stout Commander. In this man-
 ner, and with this attendance, his Majesty was
 brought to his own House at *Holmby* in *Northamp-*
tonshire; a place he had taken much delight in:
 And there he was to stay till the Parliament and
 the Army (for the Army now took upon them to
 have a share, and to give their opinion in the Settle-
 ment that should be made) should determine what
 should be farther done.

In the mean time, the Committee paid all respects
 to his Majesty; and he enjoyed those Exercises he
 most delighted in; and seemed to have all liberty,
 but to confer with Persons he most desired, and to
 have such Servants about him as he could trust. That
 which most displeased him, was, that they would not
 permit him to have his own Chaplains; but ordered
 Presbyterian Ministers to attend for Divine Service;
 and his Majesty, utterly refusing to be present at their
 Devotions, was compelled at those hours to be his
 own Chaplain in his Bed-Chamber; where he con-
 stantly used the Common-Prayer by himself. His
 Majesty bore this constraint so heavily that he writ

a Letter to the House of Peers, in which he inclosed
 a List of the Names of thirteen of his Chaplains;
 any two of which he desired might have liberty to
 attend him for his Devotion. To which, after many
 days consideration, they returned this Answer;
 "that all those Chaplains were disaffected to the
 "Established Government of the Church, and had
 "not taken the Covenant; but that there were
 "others who had, who, if his Majesty pleased,
 "should be sent to him." After this Answer, his
 Majesty thought it to no purpose to importune them
 farther in that particular; but, next to the having
 his own Chaplains, he would have been best pleased
 to have been without any; they who were sent by
 them, being Men of mean Parts and of most imper-
 tinent and troublesome Confidence and Importunity.

B O O K
 X.
 The King de-
 sires certain
 of his Chap-
 lains; is
 refused.

Whilst those Disputes continued between the Par-
 liament and the Scots concerning the King's Person,
 the Army proceeded with great Success in reducing
 those Garrisons which still continued in his Majesty's
 Obedience; whereof though some Surrendered more
 easily and with less resistance than they might have
 made, satisfying themselves with the King's general
 Order, and that there was no reasonable expectation
 of Relief, and therefore that it would not be amiss,
 by an early submission, to obtain better Conditions
 for themselves; yet others defended themselves with
 notable Obstinacy to the last, to the great damage
 of the Enemy, and to the detaining the Army from
 Uniting together; without which they could not
 pursue the great designs they had. And this was one
 of the reasons that made the Treaty with the Scots

Divers Gar-
 risons Sur-
 rendered to
 the Parlia-
 ment.

B o o k depend so long, and that the Presbyterians continued
x. their Authority and Credit so long; and We may observe again, that those Garrisons which were maintained, and defended with the greatest Courage and Virtue, in the end, obtained as good and as honorable Conditions, as any of those who Surrendered upon the first Summons.

This was the Case of *Ragland* and *Pendennis-Castles*; which endured the longest Sieges, and held out the last of any Forts or Castles in *England*; being bravely defended by two Persons of very great Age; but were at length delivered up within a day or two of each other. *Ragland* was maintained, with extraordinary Resolution and Courage, by the old Marquis of *Worcester*, against *Fairfax* himself, till it was reduced to the utmost Necessity. *Pendennis* refused all Summons; admitting no Treaty, till all their Provisions were so far consumed, that they had not Victual left for four-and-twenty hours; and then they treated, and carried themselves in the Treaty with such Resolution, and Unconcernedness, that the Enemy concluded they were in no straits; and so gave them the Conditions they proposed; which were as good as any Garrison in *England* had accepted. This Castle was defended by the Governor thereof, *John Arundel* of *Trerice* in *Cornwall* an old Gentleman of near fourscore years of Age, and of one of the best Estates and Interest in that County; who, with the Assistance of his Son *Richard Arundel* (who was then a Colonel in the Army; a stout and diligent Officer, and was by the King after his Return made a Baron, Lord *Arundel* of *Trerice*, in memory
of

of his Father's Service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the War) maintained, and defended the same to the last extremity.

There remained with him in that Service many Gentlemen of the Country of great Loyalty, amongst whom Sir *Henry Killigrew* was one; who, being an intimate Friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resolved to go to *Jersey*; and, as soon as the Castle was Surrendered, took the first opportunity of a Vessel then in the Harbour of *Falmouth*, to Transport himself with some Officers and Soldiers to *St. Maloes* in *Britany*; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in *Jersey*, that he would procure a Bark of that Island to go to *St. Maloes* to fetch him thither; which, by the kindness of Sir *George Carteret*, was presently sent, with a longing desire to receive him into that Island; the two Lords *Capel* and *Hopton*, and the Governor, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the Vessel at Sea (which they well knew) they all made haste to the Harbour to receive their Friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret they found his Body there in a Coffin, he having died at *St. Maloes* within a day after he had written his Letter.

After the Treaty was signed for delivering the Castle, he had walked out to discharge some Arms which were in his Chamber; among which, a Carabine that had been long charged, in the shooting off, broke; and a splinter of it struck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much Blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger;

B O O K
X.

so that his Friends could not persuade him to stay there till the wound was cured; but, the Blood being stopped, and the Surgeon having bound it up, he prosecuted his intended Voyage; and at his landing at St. *Maloes*, he writ that Letter; believing his wound would give him little trouble. But his Letter was no sooner gone than he sent for a Surgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he died, having desired that his dead Body might be sent to *Jersey*; where he was decently buried. He was a very Gallant Gentleman, of a noble Extraction, and a fair Revenue in Land; of excellent Parts and Courage; he had one only Son, who was killed before him in a Party that fell upon the Enemies Quarters near *Bridgewater*; where he behaved himself with remarkable Courage, and was generally lamented.

Sir *Henry* was of the House of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many Friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly beloved, he was most zealous and passionate in opposing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the Earl of *Essex* was chosen General, and the several Members of the House stood up, and declared, what Horse they would raise, and maintain, and that they would live and die with the Earl their General, one saying he would raise ten Horses, and another twenty, He stood up and said, " he would provide " a good Horse, and a good Buff-Coat, and a good " pair of Pistols, and then he doubted not but he " should find a good Cause;" and so went out of

the House, and rode Post into *Cornwall*, where his B O O K
Estate and Interest lay; and there joined with those X.
Gallant Gentlemen his Friends, who first received
the Lord *Hopton*, and raised those Forces which
did so many famous Actions in the West.

He would never take any Command in the Army;
but they who had, consulted with no Man more.
He was in all Actions, and in those places where was
most danger, having great Courage and a pleasant-
ness of humor in Danger that was very exemplary;
and they who did not do their duty, took care not
to be within his view; for he was a very sharp
Speaker, and cared not for angering those who de-
served to be reprehended. The *Arundels*, *Trelawnies*,
Slannings, *Trevanions*, and all the signal Men of that
County, infinitely loved his Spirit, and Sincerity,
and his Credit and Interest had a great influence
upon all but those who did not love the King; and
to those, he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated
by them; and not loved by Men of moderate Tem-
pers; for he thought all such prepared to Rebel,
when a little Success should encourage them; and
was many times too much offended with Men who
wished well, and whose Constitutions and Complec-
tions would not permit them to express the same
frankness, which his Nature and keenness of Spirit
could not suppress. His loss was much lamented by
all good Men.

From the time that the King was brought to
Holmby, and whilst he stayed there, he was afflic-
ted with the same pressures concerning the Church,
which had disquieted him at *New-Castle*; the Parli-

B O O K **x.** **R**ament not remitting any of their Insolencies in their Demands: all which was imputed to the Presbyterians, who were thought to exercise the whole Power, and begun to give Orders for the lessening their great Charge by disbanding some Troops of their Army, and sending others for *Ireland*; which they made no doubt speedily to Reduce; and declared, "that they would then disband all Armies, "that the Kingdom might be governed by the "known Laws."

Differences
arise between
the Parlia-
ment and the
Army.

This temper in the Houses raised another Spirit in the Army; which did neither like the Presbyterian Government that they saw ready to be settled in the Church, nor that the Parliament should so absolutely dispose of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and *Cromwell*, who had the sole influence upon the Army, under hand, made them Petition the Houses against any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himself, and his Officers, took upon them to Preach and Pray publicly to their Troops; and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, but such as bitterly inveighed against the Presbyterian Government, as more Tyrannical than Episcopacy; and the Common-Soldiers, as well as the Officers, did not only Pray, and Preach among themselves, but went up into the Pulpits in all Churches, and Preached to the People; who quickly became inspired with the same Spirit; Women as well as Men taking upon them to Pray and Preach; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning Religion, as there was in the Civil Government of the State; scarce

Divers Sects
increase in
the Army.

any Man being suffered to be called in question for delivering any opinion in Religion, by speaking or writing, how Prophane, Heretical, or Blasphemous soever it was; "which," they said, "was to restrain the Spirit."

Liberty of Conscience was now the Common Argument and Quarrel, whilst the Presbyterian Party proceeded with equal bitterness against the several Sects as Enemies to all Godliness, as they had done, and still continued to do, against the Prelatical Party; and finding themselves superior in the two Houses, little doubted, by their Authority and Power there, to be able to reform the Army, and to new-model it again; which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had not pleased God to have taken away the Earl of *Essex* some Months before this; who died without being sensible of sickness, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities himself had received from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehension, and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the King, and the Kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the City at that time, and of the two Houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a Man, who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature, rather than the wickedness of his heart, had been made an Instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: though his consti-

B O O K
X.

The Earl of
Essex. died
in Sept. this
year.

BOOK
X.

tution, and temper, might very well incline him to the Lethargic indisposition of which he died, yet it was loudly said by many of his Friends, " that he was Poisoned."

Sure it is that *Cromwell*, and his Party (for he was now declared head of the Army, though *Fairfax* continued General in Name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only Person whose Credit and Interest they feared without any esteem of his Person.

And now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute, and competition with the Parliament, and go a share with them in settling the Kingdom (as they called it) the Army erected a kind of Parliament among themselves. They had from the time of the defeat of the King's Army, and when they had no more Enemy to contend with in the Field, and after they had purged their Army of all those inconvenient Officers, of whose entire submission, and obedience to all their dictates, they had not confidence, set aside, in effect, their self-denying Ordinance, and got their principal Officers of the Army, and others of their Friends, whose principles they well knew, to be elected Members of the House of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expelled by them for adhering to the King. By this means, *Fairfax* himself, *Ireton*, *Harrison*, and many other of the Independents, Officers and Gentlemen, of the several Counties, who were transported with new fancies in Religion, and were called by a new name *Fanatics*, sat in the House of Commons; notwithstanding all which, the Presbyterians still carried it.

But about this time, that they might be upon a nearer Level with the Parliament, the Army made choice of a number of such Officers as they liked; which they called the General's Council of Officers; who were to resemble the House of Peers; and the Common-Soldiers made choice of three or four of each Regiment, most Corporals or Serjeants, few or none above the degree of an Ensign, who were called Agitators, and were to be as a House of Commons to the Council of Officers. These two Representatives met severally, and considered of all the Acts and Orders made by the Parliament towards settling the Kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the Army: and, upon mutual Messages and Conferences between each other, they resolved in the first place, and declared, "that they would not be divided, or disbanded, before their full Arrears were paid, and before full Provision was made for Liberty of Conscience; which, they said, was the ground of the Quarrel, and for which so many of their Friends lives had been lost, and so much of their own Blood had been spilt; and that hitherto there was so little security provided in that point, that there was a greater persecution now against Religious and Godly Men, than ever had been in the King's Government, when the Bishops were their Judges.

They said, "they did not look upon themselves as a Band of *Janizaries*, hired and entertained only to Fight their Battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up Arms for the Liberty and Defence of the Nation of which they were a part; and before they

Agitators,
as well as a
Council of
Officers,
appointed by
the Army.

Their first
Resolutions.

BOOK

X.

“ laid down those Arms, they would see all those
 “ ends well provided for, that the People might not
 “ hereafter undergo those grievances which they had
 “ formerly suffered. They complained that some
 “ Members of the Army had been sent for by the
 “ Parliament, and committed to Prison, which was
 “ against their Privilege; since all Soldiers ought to
 “ be tried by a Council of War, and not by any
 “ other Judicatory; and therefore they desired redress
 “ in these, and many other particulars of as
 “ ungrateful a Nature; and that such as were Imprisoned
 “ and in Custody, might be forthwith set at
 “ liberty; without which they could not think
 “ themselves justly dealt with:” and with this Declaration
 “ and address, they sent three or four of their own
 “ Members to the House of Commons; who delivered
 “ it at the Bar with wonderful Confidence.

Which they
 delivered to
 the Parliament.

The Soldiers published a vindication, as they called it, of their Proceedings and Resolutions, and directed it to their General; in which they complained of a design to disband, and new-model the Army; “ which,” they said, “ was a Plot contrived
 “ by some Men who had lately tasted of Sovereignty;
 “ and being lifted up above the ordinary Sphere
 “ of Servants, endeavoured to become Masters, and
 “ were degenerated into Tyrants.” They therefore declared,
 “ that they would neither be employed for the Service of
 “ *Ireland*, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their
 “ desires were granted, and the Rights and Liberties of the
 “ Subjects should be vindicated, and maintained.” This Apology, or
 “ Vindication, being signed by many inferior Officers,

the Parliament declared them to be Enemies to the State; and caused some of them, who talked loudest, to be imprisoned. Upon which a new Address was made to their General; wherein they complained "how disdainfully they were used by the Parliament, "for whom they had ventured their Lives, and lost "their Blood: that the Privileges which were due "to them as Soldiers, and as Subjects, were taken "from them; and when they complained of the "Injuries they received, they were abused, beaten, "and dragged into Goals.

B O O K
X.
And to their
General.

Hereupon, the General was prevailed with to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who showed it to the House; in which he took notice of several Petitions, which were prepared in the City of London, and some other Counties of the Kingdom against the Army; and "that it was looked upon as "very strange, that the Officers of the Army might "not be permitted to petition, when so many Petitions were received against them; and that "he much doubted that the Army might draw to a "Rendezvous, and think of some other way for "their own vindication.

This manner of proceeding by the Soldiers, but especially the General seeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament; yet they resolved not to suffer their Counsels to be censured, or their Actions controlled, by those who were retained by them, and who lived upon their pay. And therefore, after many high Expressions against the presumption of several Officers and Soldiers, they declared, "that who-
"soever should refuse, being commanded, to engage

The Parlia-
ment's De-
claration
thereupon

BOOK

X.

Afterward
raised out of
their Books.

A Committee
appointed by
the two Houses
to treat with a
Committee of
the Army.

Cromwell's
behaviour at
first in these
Mutinies.

"himself in the Service of *Ireland*, should be disbanded." The Army was resolved not to be subdued in their first so declared Resolution, and fell into a direct and high Mutiny, and called for the Arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to Levy for themselves; nor could they be in any degree appeased, till the Declaration that the Parliament had made against them, was rased out of the Journal-Book of both Houses, and a Month's pay sent to them; nor were they satisfied with all this, but talked very loud, "that they knew how to make themselves as considerable as the Parliament, and where to have their Service better valued, and rewarded;" which so frightened those at *Westminster*, that they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, whereof some were very acceptable to the Army, to go to them, and to treat with a Committee chosen of the Officers of the Army, upon the best expedients that might be applied to the composing these distempers. Now the Army thought itself upon a Level with the Parliament, when they had a Committee of the one authorized to treat with a Committee of the other; which likewise raised the Spirits of *Fairfax*, who had never thought of opposing or disobeying the Parliament; and disposed him to more concurrence with the impetuous humor of the Army, when he saw it was so much complied with and submitted to by all Men.

Cromwell, hitherto, carried himself with that rare dissimulation (in which sure he was a very great Master) that he seemed exceedingly incensed against this Insolence of the Soldiers; was still in the House

of Commons when any such Addresses were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the Cause of the Commitment, of some of the Officers. He proposed, "that the General might be sent down to the Army;" who, he said, "would conjure down this mutinous Spirit quickly;" and he was so easily believed, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the Army; where after he had stayed two or three days, he would again return to the House, and complain heavily "of the great Licence that was got into the Army; that, for his own part, by the Artifice of his Enemies, and of those who desired that the Nation should be again imbrewed in Blood, he was rendered so odious unto them, that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, he had not escaped out of their hands." And in these, and the like discourses, when he spake of the Nation's being to be involved in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted Man in the world with the sense of the Calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discovered his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could not longer be concealed. The most active Officers and Agitators were known to be his own Creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was privately resolved by the principal Persons of the House of Commons, that when he came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once severed his Person from the

B O O K Army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the General *Fairfax*, whom they knew to be a perfect Presbyterian in his Judgment; and that *Cromwell* had the Ascendant over him purely by his Dissimulation, and pretence of Conscience and Sincerity. There is no doubt *Fairfax* did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the King, or the least imagination of disobeying the Parliament

This purpose of seizing upon the Person of *Cromwell* could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the Army, and that his life would be in danger if he were with it, when the House expected every minute his presence, they were informed that he was met out of the Town by break of day, with one Servant only, on the way to the Army; where he had appointed a Rendezvous of some Regiments of the Horse, and from whence he writ a Letter to the House of Commons, “that having the night before received a Letter from some Officers of his own Regiment, that the jealousy the Troops had conceived of him, and of his want of kindness towards them, was much abated, so that they believed, if he would be quickly present with them, they would all in a short time by his advice be reclaimed, upon this he had made all the haste he could; and did find that the Soldiers had been abused by misinformation; and that he hoped to discover the

“ Fountain from whence it Sprung; and in the
 “ mean time desired that the General, and the other
 “ Officers in the House, and such as remained about
 “ the Town, might be presently sent to their Quar-
 “ ters; and that he believed it would be very ne-
 “ cessary in order to the suppression of the late dis-
 “ tempers, and for the prevention of the like for the
 “ time to come, that there might be a general Ren-
 “ dezvous of the Army; of which the General
 “ would best consider, when he came down; which
 “ he wished might be hastened.” It was now to no
 purpose to discover what they had formerly intended,
 or that they had any jealousy of a Person who was
 out of their reach; and so they expected a better
 conjuncture; and in few days after, the General
 and the other Officers left the Town, and went to
 their Quarters.

The same Morning that *Cromwell* left *London*, Cornet *Joyce*
 Cornet *Joyce*, who was one of the Agitators in the Army, a Taylor, a fellow who had two or three
 years before served in a very Inferior employment in
 Mr. *Hollis*' House, came with a Squadron of fifty
 Horse to *Holmby*, where the King was, about the
 break of day; and, without any interruption by the
 Guard of Horse and Foot which waited there, came
 with two or three more, and knocked at the King's
 Chamber-door, and said, “ he must presently speak
 “ with the King.” His Majesty, surpris'd with the
 manner of it, rose out of his bed; and, half dressed,
 caused the door to be opened, which he knew other-
 wise would be quickly broken open; they who
 waited in the Chamber being Persons of whom he

Cornet *Joyce*
 seized upon
 the King at
Holmby
 June 3. 1647.

B O O K had little knowledge, and less confidence. As soon
 x. as the door was opened, *Joyce*, and two or three more, came into the Chamber, with their Hats off, and Pistols in their hands. *Joyce* told the King, "that he must go with him." His Majesty asked, "whither?" he answered, "to the Army." The King asked him, "where the Army was?" he said, "they would carry him to the Place where it was." His Majesty asked, "by what Authority they came?" *Joyce* answered, "by this;" and showed him his Pistol; and desired his Majesty, "that he would cause himself to be dressed, because it was necessary they should make haste." None of the other Soldiers spoke a word; and *Joyce*, saving the bluntness, and positiveness of the few words he spoke, behaved himself not rudely. The King said, "he could not stir before he spoke with the Committee to whom he had been delivered, and who were trusted by the Parliament;" and so appointed one of those who waited upon him, to call them. The Committee had been as much surprised with the noise as the King had been, and quickly came to his Chamber, and asked *Joyce*, "whether he had any Orders from the Parliament?" he said, No. "From the General? No." What Authority he came by? to which he made no other Answer, than he had made to the King, and held up his Pistol. They said, "they would write to the Parliament to know their pleasure;" *Joyce* said, "they might do so, but the King must presently go with him." Colonel *Brown* had sent for some of the Troops who were appointed for the King's Guard, but they came not; he spoke

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x.

then with the Officer who Commanded those who were at that time upon the Guard, and found that they would make no resistance: so that after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cause to believe that he was resolved not to have gone, which had been to no purpose, and after he had broken his Fast, he went into his Coach, attended by the few Servants who were put about him, and went whither Cornet *Joyce* would Conduct him; there being no part of the Army known to be within twenty Miles of *Holmby* at that time; and that which administered most cause of apprehension, was, that those Officers who were of the Guard, declared "that the Squadron which was Commanded by *Joyce*, consisted not of Soldiers of any one Regiment, but were Men of several Troops, and several Regiments, drawn together under him, who was not the proper Officer;" so that the King did in truth believe, that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him. The Committee quickly gave notice to the Parliament of what had passed, with all the circumstances; and it was received with all imaginable consternation; nor could any Body imagine what the purpose and resolution was.

The Committee give notice of it.

Nor were they at the more ease, or in any degree pleased with the Account they received from the General himself; who, by his Letter, informed them, "that the Soldiers at *Holmby* had brought the King from thence; and that his Majesty lay the next Night at Colonel *Montague's* House, and would be the next day at *Newmarket*: that the Ground thereof

The General's Account of it to the Parliament.

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X. “ was from an Apprehension of some strength gathered to force the King from thence; whereupon he had sent Colonel *Whaley's* Regiment to meet the King.” He protested “ that his remove was without his consent, or of the Officers about him, or of the Body of the Army, and without their desire, or privity: that he would take care for the security of his Majesty's Person from danger;” and assured the Parliament, “ that the whole Army endeavoured Peace, and were far from opposing Presbytery, or affecting Independency, or from any purpose to maintain a Licentious freedom in Religion, or the Interest of any particular Party, but were resolved to leave the absolute determination of all to the Parliament.”

It was upon the third of *June* that the King was taken from *Holmby* by Cornet *Joyce*, well nigh a full year after he had delivered himself to the Scots at *Newark*; in all which time, the Army had been at leisure to contrive all ways to free itself from the servitude of the Parliament, whilst the Presbyterians believed, that in spite of a few Factious Independent Officers, it was entirely at their Devotion, and could never prove disobedient to their Commands; and those few wise Men, who discerned the foul designs of those Officers, and by what degrees they stole the Hearts and Affections of the Soldiers, had not credit enough to be believed by their own Party. The joint confidence of the unanimous Affection of the City of *London* to all their purposes, made them despise all opposition; but now, when they saw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with these

these circumstances, they found all their Measures broke by which they had formed all their Counsels. B O O K
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And as this Letter from the General administered too much cause of Jealousy of what was to succeed, so a positive information about the same time by many Officers. confirmed by a Letter which the Lord Mayor of *London* had received, that the whole Army was upon it's march, and would be in *London* the next day by noon, so distracted them that they appeared besides themselves: however, they Voted, "that the Houses should sit all the next day, being *Sunday*;" "and that Mr. *Marshall* should be there to pray for them: That the Committee of Safety should sit up all that night to consider what was to be done: That the Lines of Communication should be strongly Guarded, and all the Trained-bands of *London* should be drawn together upon pain of death." All Shops were shut up, and such a general Confusion over all the Town, and in the faces of all Men, as if the Army had already entered the Town. The Parliament writ a Letter to the General, desiring him, "that no part of the Army might come within five-and-twenty Miles of *London*;" and that the King's Person might be delivered to the former Commissioners, who had attended upon his Majesty at *Holmby*; and that Colonel *Rossiter*, and his Regiment, might be appointed for the Guard of his Person." The General returned for Answer, "that the Army was come to *St. Albans* before the desire of the Parliament came to his hands; but that, in Obedience to their Commands, he would advance no farther; and desired that a Month's

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Distractions at
Westminster
upon notice
of the Armies
coming to-
wards London

B O O K “ pay might presently be sent for the Army.” In
 x. which they deferred not to gratify them; though as
 to the redelivery of the King to the former Commis-
 sioners, no other Answer was returned, than “ that
 “ they might rest assured, that all care should be ta-
 “ ken for his Majesty’s security.”

From that time both *Cromwell* and *Ireton* appeared
 in the Council of Officers, which they had never be-
 fore done; and their Expositions with the Parlia-
 ment, begun to be more brisk, and contumacious
 than they had been. The King found himself at *New-*
market attended by greater Troops and superior Of-
 ficers; so that he was presently freed from any Sub-
 jection to Mr. *Joyce*; which was no small satisfaction
 to him; and they who were about him appeared Men
 of better Breeding than the former, and paid his Ma-
 jesty all the respect imaginable, and seemed to desire
 to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off
 from Persons resorting to him, and he saw every day
 the Faces of many who were grateful to him; and
 he no sooner desired that some of his Chaplains might
 have leave to attend upon him for his Devotion, but
 it was yielded to, and they who were named by him
 (who were Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Sanderfon*,
 and Dr. *Hammond*) were presently sent, and gave
 their attendance, and performed their Function at
 the ordinary hours, in their accustomed formalities;
 all Persons who had a mind to it, being suffered to
 be present, to his Majesty’s infinite satisfaction; who
 begun to believe that the Army was not so much his
 Enemy as it was reported to be; and the Army had
 sent an Address to him full of protestation of Duty,

The King
 brought to
 Newmarket;
 where he was
 attended by
 Charles by
 the Army.

and besought him "that he would be content, for
 "some time, to reside among them, until the Affairs
 "of the Kingdom were put into such a Posture as he
 "might find all things to his own content, and secu-
 "rity; which they infinitely desired to see as soon as
 "might be; and to that purpose made daily instances
 "to the Parliament." In the mean time his Majesty
 sat still, or removed to such places as were most
 convenient for the March of the Army; being in all
 places as well provided for and Accommodated, as
 he had used to be in any Progress; the best Gentle-
 men of the several Counties through which he passed,
 daily resorted to him, without distinction; he was
 attended by some of his old Trusty Servants in the
 places nearest his Person; and that which gave him
 most encouragement to believe that they meant well,
 was, that in the Army's Address to the Parliament,
 they desired "that care might be taken for settling
 "the King's Rights, according to the several Pro-
 "cessions they had made in their Declarations; and
 "that the Royal Party might be treated with more
 "Candor, and less Rigor;" and many good Offi-
 cers who had served his Majesty faithfully, were
 Civilly received by the Officers of the Army, and
 lived quietly in their Quarters; which they could
 not do any where else; which raised a great Repu-
 tation to the Army, throughout the Kingdom, and as
 much Reproach upon the Parliament.

The Parliament at this time had recovered its
 Spirit, when they saw the Army did not march
 nearer towards them, and not only stopped at St.
 Albans, but was drawn back to a farther distance;

B O O K
 X.

His Majesty
 removes ac-
 cording to the
 marches of
 the Army.

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X.

which persuaded them, that their General was displeased with the former advance: and so they proceeded with all passion, and vigor, against those principal Officers, who, they knew, contrived all these Proceedings. They published Declarations to the Kingdom, "that they desired to bring the King
 " in honor to his Parliament; which was their business from the beginning, and that he was detained
 " Prisoner against his Will in the Army; and that
 " they had great reason to apprehend the safety of his
 " Person." The Army, on the other hand, declared
 " that his Majesty was neither Prisoner, nor detained
 " against his Will; and appealed to his Majesty himself, and to all his Friends, who had liberty to
 " repair to him, whether he had not more liberty,
 " and was not treated with more respect, since he
 " came into the Army than he had been at *Holmby*,
 " or during the time he remained in those places,
 " and with that retinue that the Parliament had
 " appointed?" The City seemed very unanimously devoted to the Parliament, and incensed against the Army; and seemed resolute, not only with their Trained-bands and Auxiliary Regiments to assist, and defend the Parliament, but appointed some of the old Officers who had served under the Earl of *Essex*, and had been disbanded under the new Model, as *Waller*, *Maffey*, and others, to list new Forces; towards which there was not like to be want of Men out of their old Forces, and such of the King's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear so much, as that the Army would make a firm conjunction with the King, and

Transactions in
 the City upon
 these occasions.

unite with his Party, of which there was so much show; and many unskillful Men, who wished it, bragged too much; and therefore the Parliament sent a Committee to his Majesty, with an Address of another Style than they had lately used, with many professions of Duty; and declaring, "that if he was not, in all respects, treated as he ought to be, and as he desired, it was not Their fault, who desired he might be at full liberty, and do what he would;" hoping that the King would have been induced to desire to come to *London*, and to make complaint of the Army's having taken him from *Holmby*; by which they believed the King's Party would be disbanded, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the Army; and then, they thought, they should be hard enough for them.

The King was in great doubt how to carry himself; he thought himself so barbarously used by the Presbyterians, and had so ill an opinion of all the principal Persons who governed them, that he had no mind to put himself into their hands. On the other side, he was far from being satisfied with the Army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his Friends were suffered to resort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the Officers and Soldiers appeared, for the most part, civil to him, they were all at least as vigilant, as the former Guards had been; so that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had desired it. *Fairfax* had been with him, and kissed his hand, and made such Professions as he could well utter; which was with no

B O O K advantage in the delivery ; his Authority was of no
X. use, because he resigned himself entirely to *Cromwell* ; who had been , and *Ireton* likewise , with the King , without either of them offering to kiss his hand ; otherwise , they behaved themselves with good manners towards him. His Majesty used all the Address he could towards them to draw some promise from them , but they were so reserved , and stood so much upon their Guard , and used so few words , that nothing could be concluded from what they said : they excused themselves “ for not seeing his Majesty “ often , upon the great jealousies the Parliament “ had of them , towards whom they professed all “ fidelity.” The Persons who resorted to his Majesty , and brought Advices from others who durst not yet offer to come themselves , brought several opinions to him ; some thinking the Army would deal sincerely with his Majesty , others expecting no better from them than they afterwards performed : so that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament-Addresses by any neglect , nor disoblige the Army by appearing to have jealousy of them , or a desire to be out of their hands ; which he could hardly have effected , if he had known a better place to have resorted to. So he desired both Parties “ to hasten their Consultations , that the Kingdom “ might enjoy Peace and Happiness ; in which he “ should not be without a share ; and he would pray “ to God to bring this to pass as soon as was “ possible.”

The news of the King's being in the Army , of his freedom in the exercise of his Religion , which he

had been so long without, and that some of his Servants, with whom he was well pleased had liberty to attend upon him, made every Body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the King himself writ to the Queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the *Scots*. Sir *John Berkeley* after his Surrender of *Exeter*, and the spending his six Months allowed by the Articles to solicit his affairs where he would, had Transported himself into *France*, and waited upon the Queen at *Paris*, being still a menial Servant to her Majesty, and having a Friend in that Court that Governed, and loved him better than any Body else did. As soon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the Army, he repeated many Discourses he had held with the Officers of the Army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of *Exeter*; how he had told them, "upon how slippery ground they stood; that the Parliament, when they had served their turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them very small rewards for the great Service they had done for them; that they should do well, seasonably to think of a safe retreat, which could be no where but under the Protection of the King; who by their Courage was brought very low; and if they raised him again; he must owe it all to them; and his Posterity, as well as himself, and all his Party, must for ever acknowledge it; by which they would raise their Fortunes, as well as their Fame, to the greatest degree Men could aim at;" which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that Officer, whom he

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X.

named, "that they told him at parting, that they should never forget what he had said to them; and that they already observed that every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind of it." In a word, "he had foretold all that was since come to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now with them, he should be welcome, and have credit enough to bring them to reason, and to do the King great Service;" and offered, without any delay, to make the Journey. The Queen believed all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that loved him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the Queen's Letter of Recommendation of him to the King, who knew him very little, and that little not without some prejudice, he left *Paris*, and made all possible haste into *England*. *John Ashburnham*, who was driven from the King by the *Scots* after he had conducted his Majesty to them, had Transported himself into *France*, and was at this time residing in *Roan*; having found, upon his Address to the Queen at *Paris* upon his first Arrival, that his abode in some other place would not be ungrateful to her Majesty, and so he removed to *Roan*; where he had the society of many who had served the King in the most eminent Qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the same restraint that had been formerly, he resolved to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reason to doubt but that his presence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other Envoy from *Paris*, and He, did

Sir John
Berkeley sent
from the
Queen to the
King.

Mr Ashburn-
ham comes
from France
to the King.

not make their Journey into *England* together, nor had the least Communication with each other, being in truth of several Parties and Purposes, yet they arrived there, and at the Army, near the same time.

Berkeley first applied himself to those subordinate Officers with whom he had some acquaintance at *Exeter*, and they informing their Superiors of his Arrival, and Application, they were well pleased that he was come. They were well acquainted with his Talent, and knew his foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep design from His contrivance; and so they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whose Person he had no title, or relation, which required any constant waiting upon him.

Sir John
Berkeley and
Mr Ashburn-
ham's Trans-
actions with
some Officers
of the Army.

Ashburnham had, by some Friends, a recommendation both to *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who knew the credit he had with the King, and that his Majesty would be very well pleased to have his attendance, and look upon it as a Testimony of their respect to him. They knew likewise that he was an implacable Enemy to the *Scots*, and no Friend to the other Presbyterians, and though he had some ordinary craft in insinuating, he was of no deep and piercing judgment to discover what was not unwarily exposed, and a free speaker of what he imagined: so they likewise left Him at liberty to repair to the King; and these two Gentlemen came near about the same time to his Majesty, when the Army was drawing together, with a purpose, which was not yet published, of marching to *London*; his Majesty being

BOOK still quartered in those places which were more proper
x. for that purpose.

They were both welcome to his Majesty, the one bringing a special recommendation from the Queen, and, to make himself the more valuable, assuring his Majesty "that he was sent for by the Officers of the Army, as one they would trust, and that they had received him with open Arms; and, without any scruple, gave him leave to wait upon him." The other, needed no recommendation, the King's own inclinations disposing him to be very gracious to him; and so his Majesty wished them "to correspond with each other, and to converse with his several Friends, who did not yet think fit to resort to him; and to receive their advice; to discover as much as they could of the Intentions of both Parties, and impart what was fit to the King, till, upon a farther discovery, his Majesty might better judge what to do." These two were the principal Agents (they conferring with all his Majesty's Friends, and, as often as they desired, with the Officers of the Army) upon whose Information, and Advice, his Majesty principally depended, though they rarely conferred together with the same Persons, and never with any of the Officers, who pretended not to trust one another enough to speak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their Acquaintance among the Officers not being principally with the same Men, their Informations and Advices were often very different, and more perplexed than informed his Majesty.

The very high contests between the Parliament and the Army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent Men believe that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the Umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The Parliament thought that their Name and Authority, which had carried them through so great undertakings, and reduced the whole Kingdom to their obedience, could not be overpowered by their own Army, raised and paid by themselves, and to whose Dictates the People would never submit. They thought the King's presence amongst them, gave them all their present reputation; and were not without apprehension that the Ambition of some of the Officers, and their malice to the Parliament, when they saw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might dispose them to an entire conjunction with the King's Party and Interest; and then, all the Penalties of Treason, Rebellion, and Irregularities, must be discharged at their costs; and therefore they labored, by all the public and private means they could, to persuade the King to own his being detained Prisoner by the Army against his Will, or to withdraw himself by some way from them, and repair to *White-Hall*; and, in either of those Cases, they did not doubt, first, to divide the Army (for they still believed the General fast to them) and by degrees to bring to reason, and to be disbanded, as many as were not necessary for the Service of *Ireland*; and then, having the King to themselves, and all his Party being obnoxious to those penalties for their

B O O K
X.

The different
designs of the
Parliament
and Army at
this time
relating to the
King.

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X.

Delinquency, they should be well able. by gratifying some of the greatest Persons of the Nobility with immunity and indemnity, to settle the Government in such a manner, as to be well recompensed for all the Adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the Army had no dread of the Authority and Power of the Parliament; which they knew had been so far prostituted. that it had lost most of its reverence with the People. But it had great apprehension, that, by its conjunction with the City, it might indeed recover credit with the Kingdom, and withhold the pay of the Army, and thereby make some Division amongst them; and if the Person of the King should be likewise with them, and thereby his Party should likewise join with them, they should be to begin their work again, or to make their Peace with those who were as much provoked by them as the King himself had been. And therefore they were sensible that they enjoyed a present benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward respect that was due to his Majesty, and the civilities they made profession of towards all his Party, and the permission of his Chaplains, and other Servants, to resort to him; and cultivated all these Artifices with great Address, suppressing, or discountenancing the Tyranny of the Presbyterians in the Country-Committees, and all other places, where they exercised notable rigor against all who had been of the King's Party, or not enough of theirs (for Neuters found no excuse for being of no Party) When they found it fit to make any lusty Declaration against the Parlia-

ment, and exclaim against their Tyrannical proceedings against the Army, they always inserted somewhat that might look like Candor and Tenderneſs towards the King's Party, complained of "the Affront, and Indignity done to the Army by the Parliament's not observing the Articles which had been made upon Surrender of Garrisons, but proceeding against those on whose behalf those Articles were made, with more severity than was agreeable to justice, and to the Intention of the Articles; whereby the honor and faith of the Army suffered, and was complained of; all which, they said, they would have remedied." Whereupon many hoped that they should be excused from making any compositions, and entertained such other imaginations as pleased themselves, and the other Party well liked; knowing they could demolish all those Structures as soon as they received no benefit by them themselves.

The King had, during the time he stayed at *Holmby*, writ to the House of Peers, that his Children might have leave to come to him, and to reside for some time with him. From the time that *Oxford* had been Surrendered, upon which the Duke of York had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he should have liberty to go to such place as the King should direct, which was very earnestly pressed, and insisted on by the Lords of the Council there, as long as they could; but appointed their Committee to receive him with all respect, and to bring him to *London*; from that time, I say, the Duke of York was committed to the care of the Earl

BOOK of *Northumberland*, together with the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Princess, who had been by the King left under the Tuition of the Countess of *Dorset*, but from the Death of that Countess the Parliament had presumed, that they might be sure to keep them in their power, to put them into the Custody of the Lady *Vere*, an old Lady much in their favor, but not at all Ambitious of that Charge, though there was a competent allowance assigned for their support. They were now removed from her, and placed all together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who received, and treated them, in all respects, as was suitable to their Birth, and his own Duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his Instructions from the Parliament, permitted to do; and they had absolutely refused to gratify the King in that particular; of which his Majesty no sooner took notice to *Fairfax*, than he writ a Letter to the Parliament, "that the King much
 " desired to have the sight and company of his Children, and that if they might not be allowed to be
 " longer with him, that at least they might dine with him;" and he sent them word that, on such a day, the King, who attended the motion of the Army and was Quatered only where they pleased, " would dine at *Maidenhead*." There his Children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to Quarter and stay some time at *Caversham*, a House of the Lord *Craven's*, near *Reading*, his Children were likewise suffered to go thither, and remained with him two days; which was the greatest satisfaction the King could receive; and the receiv-

The King
 allowed to see
 his Children
 at *Maidenhead*
 and *Caversham*.
 Here.

ing whereof. he imputed to the Civility of the General, and the good disposition of the Army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one Proposition in which he had been gratified, where the Presbyterian Spirit had power to deny it.

In the House of Commons, which was now the Scene of all the Action that displeased and incensed the Army (for the House of Peers was shrunk into so inconsiderable a Number, and their Persons not considerable after the Death of the Earl of *Effex*, except those who were affected to, or might be disposed by the Army) they were wholly guided by *Hollis*, and *Stapleton*, *Lewis*, and *Glyn*, who had been very popular and notorious from the beginning, and by *Waller*, and *Massey*, and *Brown*, who had Served in Commands in the Army, and performed at some times very signal Service, and were exceedingly beloved in the City, and two or three others who followed their Dictates, and were subservient to their Directions. These were all Men of Parts, Interest, and signal Courage, and did not only heartily abhor the Intentions which they discerned the Army to have, and that it was wholly to be disposed according to the designs of *Cromwell*, but had likewise declared Animosities against the Persons of the most active and powerful Officers; as *Hollis* had one day, upon a very hot debate in the House, and some rude expressions which fell from *Ireton*, persuaded him to walk out of the House with him, and then told him, "that he should presently go over the Water and fight with him." *Ireton* replying, "his Conscience

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X.

“ would not suffer him to fight a Duel:” *Hollis*, in choler, pulled him by the Nose; telling him, “ if his Conscience would keep him from giving Men “ satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking “ them.” This affront to the third Person of the Army, and to a Man of the most Virulent, Malicious, and Revengeful Nature of all the Pack, so incensed the whole Party, that they were resolved one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the House, and that reputation abroad, that when he could not absolutely control their designs, he did so obstruct them, that they could not advance to any conclusion.

The Army
impeach eleven
Members
of the House
of Commons.

They resorted therefore to an expedient, which, they had observed, by the Conduct of those very Men against whom they meant to apply it, had brought to pass all that they desired; and, in the Council of Officers, prepared and impeachment of High Treason in general Terms against *Mr. Hollis*, and the Persons mentioned before, and others, to the number of eleven Members of the House of Commons. This impeachment twelve Officers of the Army, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors and Captains, presented to the House; and within few days after, when they saw the same Members still inveigh against, and arraign their proceedings, the General and Officers writ a Letter to the House, “ that they would appoint fit Persons on their and “ the Kingdom’s behalf, to make good the charge “ against those Members whom they had accused; “ and that they desired, that those Members im- “ peached might be forthwith suspended from
sitting

“ sitting in the House; since it could not be thought
 “ fit that the same Persons who had so much injured
 “ and provoked the Army, should sit Judges of their
 “ own Actions.” This was an Arrow that the House
 of Commons did not expect would have been shot
 out of that Quiver; and though they were unspeak-
 ably dismayed, and distracted with this presump-
 tion, they answered positively, “that they neither
 “ would, nor could, sequester those Members from
 “ the House, who had never said, or done any thing
 “ in the House worthy of Censure, till proof were
 “ made of such particulars as might render them
 “ guilty.” But the Officers of the Army replied,
 “ that they could prove them guilty of such practices
 “ in the House, that it would be just in the House to
 “ suspend them: that by the Laws of the Land, and
 “ the Precedents of Parliament the Lords had, upon
 “ the very presentation of a general Accusation with-
 “ out being reduced in form, sequestered from their
 “ House and committed the Earl of *Strafford*, and
 “ the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and therefore
 “ they must press, and insist upon the suspending
 “ at least of those accused Members from being
 “ present in the House, where they stood impeached;
 “ and without this, they said, the Army would not
 “ be satisfied.” However the House of Commons
 seemed still resolute, the accused Members them-
 selves, who best knew their temper, thought it safer
 for them to retire, and by forbearing to appear in the
 House, to allay the heat of the present Contest.

Upon this so palpable Declension of Spirit in the
 House, the Army seemed much quieter, and

B O O K

X.

The temper
of the City
and the Chan-
ges of their
Militia at this
time.

resolved to set other Agents on their work that they might not appear too busy and active upon their own concernment. It is very true that the City, upon whose influence the Parliament much depended, appeared now entirely Presbyterian; the Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council, consisted chiefly of Men of that Spirit; the Militia of the City was committed to Commissioners carefully and factiously chosen of that Party; all those of another temper having been put out of those Trusts, at or about the time that the King was delivered up by the Scots, when the Officers of the Army were content that the Presbyterians should believe, that the whole power of the Kingdom was in them; and that they might settle what Government they pleased; If there remained any Persons in any of those employments in the City, it was by their dissimulation, and pretending to have other Affections; most of those who were notorious to be of any other faction in Religion, had been put out; and lived as neglected and discountenanced Men; who seemed rather to depend upon the Clemency, and Indulgence of the State, for their particular liberty in the exercise of that Religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any share, or part in the Government: yet, after all this dissimulation *Cromwell* and *Ireton* well knew, that the multitude of inferior People were at their disposal, and would appear in any conjuncture they should think convenient; and that many Aldermen and substantial Citizens were quiet, and appeared not to contradict or oppose the Presbyterians, only by their directions; and would

be ready upon their call. And now, when they saw those leading Men, who had governed the Parliament, prosecuted by the Army, and that they forbore to come to the House, there flocked together great Numbers of the lowest, and most inferior People, to the Parliament, with Petitions of several Natures, both with reference to Religion, and to the Civil Government; with the noise and clamor whereof, the Parliament was so offended and disturbed, that they made an Ordinance, "that it should be Criminal
 " to gather, and solicit the Subscription of hands
 " to Petitions." But this Order so offended all Parties, that they were compelled, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all Men to their natural Liberty. Whilst this Confusion was in the City and Parliament, the Commissioners, which had been sent to the Army to treat with the Officers, had no better success; but returned with the positive and declared Resolution of the Army, "that a Declara-
 " tion should be published by the Parliament against
 " the coming in of Foreign Force:" for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the People should apprehend, a new Combination by the *Scots*. "that
 " the Pay of the Army should be put into a constant
 " Course, and all Persons who had received Money,
 " should be called to an account: that the Militia of
 " *London* should be put into the hands of Persons
 " well affected, and those who had been formerly
 " trusted: that all Persons imprisoned for pretended
 " Misdemeanours, by Order of Parliament, or their
 " Committees, might be set at Liberty; and, if
 " upon trial they should be found Innocent, that

B O O K " they might have good Reparation." And they particularly mentioned *John Lilburn, Overton*, and other Anabaptists and Fanatics, who had been committed by the Parliament for many Seditious Meetings, under pretence of Exercise of their Religion, and many insolent Actions against the Government. Upon the report of these demands the Parliament grew more enraged; and Voted, " that the yielding " to the Army in these particulars, would be against " their Honor, and their Interest, and destructive " to their Privileges;" with many expressions against their presumption, and insolence: yet, when a new Rabble of Petitioners demanded, with loud Cries, most of the same things, they were willing to compound with them; and consented that the Militia of the City of *London* should be put into such hands as the Army should desire.

The Militia of the City had been in the beginning of *May*, shortly after the King's being brought to *Holmby*, settled with the consent, and upon the desire, of the Common-Council, by Ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of Commissioners, who were generally of the Presbyterian Party, they who were of other inclinations being removed; and, as is said before, seemed not displeased at their disgrace; and now, when upon the Declarations and Demands of the Army, seconded by the clamorous Petitions, they saw this Ordinance reversed, in *July*, without so much as consulting with the Common Council according to custom, the City was exceedingly startled; and said, " that if the Imperious Command of the " Army, could prevail with the Parliament to reverse

“ such an Ordinance as that of the Militia, they
 “ had reason to apprehend they might as well repeal
 “ the other Ordinances for the security of Money, or
 “ for the purchase of Bishops and Church-Lands, or
 “ whatsoever else that was the proper security of the
 “ Subject.” And therefore they caused a Petition to
 be prepared in the name of the City, to be presented
 by the two Sheriffs, and others deputed by the Com-
 mon-Council to that purpose. But, before they were
 ready, many thousands, Apprentices and young Citi-
 zens, brought Petitions to the Parliament; in which
 they said, “ that the Command of the Militia of the
 “ City was the Birth-right of the City, and belonged
 “ to them by several Charters which had been confirm-
 “ ed in Parliament; for defence whereof, they said,
 “ they had ventured their Lives as far and as frankly
 “ as the Army had done; and therefore, they desired
 “ that the Ordinance of Parliament of the fourth of
 “ May, which had passed with their consent, might
 “ stand inviolable.” They first presented their Peti-
 tion to the House of Peers, who immediately revoked
 their late Ordinance of *July*, and confirmed their
 former of *May*; and sent it down to the Commons
 for their consent; who durst not deny their concur-
 rence, the Apprentices behaving themselves so inso-
 lently, that they would scarce suffer the door of the
 House of Commons to be shut; and some of them
 went into the House.

A tumultuous
 Petition of Ap-
 prentices, and
 others, to both
 Houses concern-
 ing their
 Militia.

And in this manner the Ordinance was reversed
 that had been made at the desire of the Army, and
 the other of *May* ratified and confirmed; which was
 no sooner done than the Parliament adjourned till

B O O K *Friday*, that they might have two or three days to
 X. consider how they should behave themselves, and
 prevent the like violences hereafter. The Army had
 quickly notice of these extraordinary proceedings,
 and the General writ a very sharp Letter to the Par-
 liament from *Bedford*; in which he put them in mind,
 " how civilly the Army had complied with their
 " desire, by removing to a greater distance, upon
 " presumption that their own Authority would
 " have been able to have secured them from any
 " rudeness, and violence of the People; which it
 " was now evident it could not do, by the unpar-
 " alleled violation of all their Privileges, on the
 " *Monday* before, by a Multitude from the City
 " which had been encouraged by several Common-
 " Council-Men, and other Citizens in Authority;
 " which was an Act so prodigious and horrid as must
 " dissolve all Government, if not severely and ex-
 " emplarily chastised: that the Army looked upon
 " themselves as accountable to the Kingdom, if this
 " unheard of outrage, by which the Peace and settle-
 " ment of the Nation, and the relief of *Ireland*, had
 " been so notoriously interrupted, should not be
 " strictly examined, and justice speedily done upon
 " the Offenders." Upon *Friday*, to which both Houses
 had adjourned, the Members came together, in as
 full Numbers as they had used to meet, there being
 above one hundred and forty of the House of Com-
 mons; but, after they had sat some time in expec-
 tation of their Speaker, they were informed that he
 was gone out of the Town early that Morning; and
 they observed that *Sir Henry Vane*, and some few

Upon this the
 General writ a
 very sharp
 Letter to the
 Parliament;

other Members who used to concur with him, were likewise absent. The House of Peers found likewise that the Earl of *Manchester*, their Speaker, had withdrawn himself, together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and some other Lords; but the Major part still remained there, full of Indignation against those who were absent, and who they all concluded were gone to the Army. Hereupon both Houses chose new Speakers; who accepted the Office; and the Commons presently voted, "that the eleven Members who stood impeached by the Army, and had discontinued coming to the House, should presently appear, and take their places." They made an Ordinance of Parliament, by which a Committee of safety was appointed to join with the City-Militia, and had Authority to raise Men for the defence of the Parliament; which they appeared so vigorously resolved on, that no Men in the Houses, or in the City, seemed to intend any thing else. The News of this roused up the Army, and the General presently sent a good Party of Horse into *Windfor*, and marched himself to *Uxbridge*, and appointed a general Rendezvous for the Army upon *Hounslow-Heath*, within two days; when there appeared twenty thousand Foot and Horse, with a Train of Artillery, and all other provisions proportionable to such an Army.

As soon as the Rendezvous was appointend at *Hounslow-Heath*, at the same time the King removed to *Hampton-Court*; which was prepared, and put into as good order for his reception, as could have been done in the best time. The Houses seemed for some

B O O K

X.

The two Speakers, with other Members of the two Houses, withdrew to the Army.

Both Houses chose new Speakers; and their Votes.

Rendezvous the Army appointed on Hounslow-Heath, and King removed to Hampton-Court.

BOOK

X.

Each Speakers.
and the other
Members, ap-
peared in the
House of Com-
mons.

time to retain their Spirit and Vigor, and the City talked of lifting Men, and defending themselves, and not suffering the Army to approach nearer to them; but, when they knew the day of the Rendezvous, those in both Houses who had been too weak to carry any thing, and so had looked on whilst such Votes were passed as they liked not and could not oppose, now when their Friend the Army was so near, recovered their Spirits, and talked very loud; and persuaded the rest, "to think in time of making their peace with the Army, that could not be without blood." And the City grew every day more appalled, irresolute, and confounded, one Man proposing this, and another somewhat contrary to that, like Men amazed and distracted. When the Army met upon *Hounslow-Heath* at their Rendezvous, the Speakers of both Houses, who had privately before met with the Chief-Officers of the Army, appeared there with their Maces, and such other Members as accompanied them; complaining to the General, "that they had not freedom at *Westminster*, but were in danger of their lives by the Tumults;" and appealed to the Army for their protection.

This looked like a new Act of Providence to vindicate the Army from all reproaches, and to justify them in all they had done, as absolutely done for the preservation of the Parliament and Kingdom. If this had been a retreat of Sir *Harry Vane* and some other discontented Men, who were known to be Independents, and Fanatics in their opinions in Religion, and of the Army-faction, who being no longer able to oppose the wisdom of

the Parliament, had fled to their Friends for protection from Justice, they would have got no reputation, nor the Army been thought the better of for their Company; but neither of the Speakers were ever looked upon as inclined to the Army; *Lenthall* was generally believed to have no malice towards the King, and not to be without good inclinations to the Church; and the Earl of *Manchester*, who was Speaker of the House of Peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable against *Cromwell*; and had formerly accused him of want of Duty to the Parliament; and the other hated him above all Men, and desired to have taken away his life. The Earl of *Manchester*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were the two Pillars of the Presbyterian-Party; and that they two, with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and some other of the Lords, and some of the Commons, who had appeared to disapprove all the proceedings of the Army, should now join with Sir *Harry Vane*, and appeal to the Army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the City, appeared to every slander by so stupendous a thing, that it is not to this day understood otherwise, than that they were resolved to have their particular shares in the Treaty, which they believed the Chief-Officers of the Army to have near concluded with the King. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the Army, nor had any kindness to, or confidence in the Officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, considering how much

BOOK X. the City was devoted to them, it is probable that the Army would not have used any force; which might have received a fatal repulse; but that some good Compromise might have been made by the Interposition of the King. But this Schism carried all the Reputation and Authority to the Army, and left none in the Parliament; for though it presently appeared, that the Number of those who left the Houses was small in comparison of those who remained behind, and who proceeded with the same Vigor in declaring against the Army, and the City seemed as resolute in putting themselves into a posture, and preparing for their defence, all their Works and Fortifications being still entire, so that they might have put the Army to great trouble if they had steadily pursued their Resolutions (which they did not seem in any degree to decline) yet this rent made all the accused Members, who were the Men of parts, and reputation to conduct their Counsels, to withdraw themselves upon the astonishment; some concealing themselves, till they had opportunity to make their Peace, and others withdrawing and transporting themselves beyond the Seas; whereof *Stapleton* died at *Calais* as soon as he Landed, and was denied Burial, upon imagination that he had died of the Plague: others remained a long time beyond the Seas; and, though they long after returned, never were received into any trust in those times, nor in truth concurred, or acted in the public Affairs, but retired to their own Estates, and lived very privately.

The Chief Officers of the Army received the two Speakers, and the Members who accompanied them,

as so many Angels sent from Heaven for their good; paid them all the respect imaginable, and professed all submission to them, as to the Parliament of *England*; and declared "that they would re-establish them in their full power, or perish in the attempt;" took very particular care for their accommodations, before the General; and assigned a Guard to wait upon them for their security; acquainted them with all their consultations, and would not presume to resolve any thing without their approbation: and they had too much modesty to think they could do amiss, who had prospered so much in all their undertakings. No time was lost in pursuing their Resolution to establish the Parliament again at *Westminster*; and finding that the rest of the Members continued still to sit there with the same Formality, and that the City did not abate any of their Spirit, they seemed to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better understanding between them, upon the Messages they every day sent to the Lord-Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common-Council (for of those at *Westminster* they took no notice) and Quartered their Army about *Brentford*, and *Hounslow*, *Twickenham*, and the adjacent Villages, without restraining any Provisions, which every day according to custom were carried to *London*, or doing the least Action that might disoblige, or displease the City; the Army being in truth under so excellent discipline, that no body could complain of any damage sustained by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they sent over Colonel *Rainborough* with a Brigade of Horse and Foot, and Cannon,

B O O K
X.

B O O K at *Hampton - Court*, to possess *Southwark*, and those
X. works which secured that end of *London - Bridge*;
 which he did with so little Noise, that in one Night's
 march, he found himself Master without any opposition,
 not only of the Borough of *Southwark*, but of
 all the Works and Forts which were to defend it;
 the Soldiers within, shaking hands with those with-
 out, and refusing to obey their Officers which were
 to Command them: So that the City, without know-
 ing that any such thing was in agitation, found in the
 morning that all that Avenue to the Town was pos-
 sessed by the Enemy; whom they were providing
 to resist on the other side, being as confident of this
 that they had lost, as of any Gate of the City.

This struck them dead; and put an end to all their
 Consultation for defence; and put other thoughts
 into their heads, how they might pacify those whom
 they had so much offended, and provoked; and how
 they might preserve their City from Plunder, and
 the fury of an enraged Army. They who had ever
 been of the Army-party, and of late had shut them-
 selves up, and not dared to walk the Streets for fear
 of the People, came now confidently amongst them,
 and mingled in their Councils; declared, "that the
 " King and the Army were now agreed in all parti-
 " culars, and that both Houses were now with the
 " Army, and had presented themselves to the King;
 " so that to oppose the Army would be to oppose
 " the King and Parliament, and to incense them as
 " much as the Army." Upon such confident dis-
 courses and insinuations from those with whom they
 would not have conversed, or given the least credit

to, three days before, or rather upon the confusion and general distraction they were in, they sent six Aldermen and six Commoners to the General; who lamented, and complained, "that the City should be suspected, that had never acted any thing against the Parliament; and therefore, they desired him to forbear doing any thing that might be the occasion of a new War." But the General little considered this Message, and gave less countenance to the Messengers; but continued his slow marches towards the City: whereupon they sent an humble Message to him, "that since they understood that the reason of his march so near *London* was to restore, and settle the Members (the Lords and Commons) of Parliament to the Liberty and Privilege of sitting securely in their several Houses (to which the City would contribute all their power, and service) they prayed him, with all submission, that he would be pleased to send such a Guard of Horse and Foot as he thought to be sufficient for that purpose; and that the Ports and all Passages should be open to them; and they should do any thing else that his Excellency would Command."

To which, he made no other Answer but "that he would have all the Forts of the West-side of the City to be delivered immediately to him; those of the other side being already, as is said, in the hands of *Rainsborough* and his other Officers." The Common-Council, that sat Day and Night, upon the receipt of this Message, without any pause returned "that they would humbly submit to his Command; and that now, under Almighty-God,

B O O K
X.

The City sends
six Aldermen
to the General,
and submits.

B O O K " they did rely only upon his Excellency's honor-
X. " able word for their protection, and security." And so they caused their Militia to be forthwith drawn off from the Line, as well as out of the Forts, with all their Cannon and Ordnance; and the General appointed a better Guard to both. At *Hyde-Park* the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and besought him "to excuse what they had, out of their good meaning and desire of Peace, done amiss;" and as a Testimony of their Affection and Duty, the Mayor, on the behalf of the City, presented a great gold Cup to the General; which he sullenly refused to receive, and, with very little Ceremony, dismissed them.

The General conducts the two Speakers and other Members to their several Houses of Parliament.

He himself waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted them, and their Members, to the several Houses, where the other Members were then sitting, even in the Instant when the Revolters, as they called them, entered into the Houses, the old Speakers assumed their places again, and entered upon their business, as if there had been no separation. The first thing they did, was calling in the General into both Houses, and making him a large acknowledgment in the name of each House, of the great favors he had done to them; they thanked him "for the Protection he had given to their Persons, and his Vindication of the Privileges of Parliament." Then they voted "all that had been done by themselves in going to the Army, and in residing there, and all that had been done by the Army, to be well and lawfully done;" as, some time after, they also voted, "that all that had been done in the Houses

“ since their departure, was against Law, and Privilege of Parliament, invalid and void:” Then they adjourned to the next day, without questioning or punishing any Member who had acted there.

The Army of Horse, Foot, and Cannon, marched the next day through the City (which, upon the desire of the Parliament, undertook forthwith to supply a hundred thousand pounds for the payment of the Army) without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any Person, or giving any disrespectful word to any Man; by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent Discipline, and that both Officers and Soldiers were Men of extraordinary temper and sobriety. So they marched over *London-Bridge* into *Southwark*, and to those Quarters to which they were assigned; some Regiments were Quartered in *Westminster*, the *Strand*, and *Holborn*, under pretence of being a Guard to the Parliament, but intended as a Guard upon the City. The General's head-Quarters were at *Chelsea*, and the rest of the Army Quartered between *Hampton Court* and *London*, that the King might be well looked to; and the Council of Officers, and Agitators, sat constantly, and formally, at *Fulham*, and *Putney*, to provide that no other settlement should be made for the Government of the Kingdom than what they should well approve.

Whilst these things were thus agitated between the Army and the Parliament and the City, the King enjoyed himself at *Hampton-Court*, much more to his content than he had of late; the respects of the Chief-Officers of the Army seeming much greater than they

B O O K
X.

The Army
marches
through the
City, and
Quarters
about it

The King at
*Hampton-
Court.*

B O O K had been; *Cromwell* himself came oftener to him, and
X. had longer conferences with him; talked with more
 openness to *Mr. Ashburnham* than he had done, and
 appeared more cheerful. Persons of all conditions
 repaired to his Majesty of those who had served him;
 with whom he conferred without reservation; and
 the Citizens flocked thither as they had used to do
 at the end of a Progress, when the King had been
 some Months absent from *London*: but that which
 pleased his Majesty most, was, that his Children
 were permitted to come to him, in whom he took
 great delight. They were all at the Earl of *Northum-*
berland's House, at *Sion*, from the time the King came
 to *Hampton-Court*, and had liberty to attend his
 Majesty when he pleased; so that sometimes he sent
 for them to come to *Hampton-Court*, and sometimes
 he went to them to *Sion*; which gave him great
 satisfaction.

The King's
 discourse and
 conversation
 with his
 Children that
 were in the
 parliament's
 power.

In this conversation, as if his Majesty had foreseen
 all that befel him afterwards, and which at that time
 sure he did not suspect, he took great care to instruct
 his Children how to behave themselves if the worst
 should befall him that the worst of his Enemies did
 contrive, or wish; and "that they should preserve
 " unshaken their Affection and Duty to the Prince
 " their Brother." The Duke of *York* was then about
 fourteen years of Age; and so, capable of any in-
 formation or instruction the King thought fit to
 give him. His Majesty told him, "that he looked
 " upon himself as in the hands and disposal of the
 " Army, and that the Parliament had no more
 " power to do him good or harm, than as the Army
 should

“ should direct or permit; and that he knew not, in
 “ all this time he had been with them, what he
 “ might promise himself from those Officers of the
 “ Army at whose devotion it was: that he hoped
 “ well, yet with much doubt and fear; and there-
 “ fore he gave him this general direction, and com-
 “ mand, that if there appeared any such alteration
 “ in the affection of the Army, that they restrained
 “ him from the liberty he then enjoyed of seeing his
 “ Children, or suffered not his Friends to resort to
 “ him with that freedom that they enjoyed at present,
 “ he might conclude they would shortly use him
 “ worse, and that he should not be long out of a
 “ Prison; and therefore that from the time he dis-
 “ covered such an alteration, he should bethink
 “ himself how he might make an escape out of their
 “ power, and Transport himself beyond the Seas.”

The place he recommended to him, was *Holland*;
 where he presumed his Sister would receive him very
 kindly, and that the Prince of *Orange* her Husband
 would be well pleased with it, though, possibly,
 the States might restrain him from making those
 Expressions of his Affection his own inclination
 prompted him to. He wished him to think always
 of this, as a thing possible to fall out, and so spake
 frequently to him of it, and of the circumstances and
 cautions which were necessary to attend it.

The Princess *Elizabeth* was not above a year or
 two younger than the Duke, a Lady of excellent
 Parts, great Observation, and an early Understand-
 ing; which the King discerned, by the Account
 she gave him both of Things and Persons, upon

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the experience she had had of both. His Majesty enjoined her, “ upon the worst that could befall him, “ never to be disposed of in Marriage without the “ consent and approbation of the Queen her Mother, “ and the Prince her Brother; and always to perform all Duty and Obedience to both those; and “ to Obey the Queen in all things, except in matter “ of Religion; in which he commanded her, upon “ his Blessing, never to hearken or consent to her; “ but to continue firm in the Religion she had been “ Instructed and Educated in, what discountenance “ and ruin soever might befall the poor Church, at “ that time under so severe prosecution.”

The Duke of *Glocester* was very young, being at that time not above seven years old, and so might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice, and injunction, which in truth ever after made so deep impression in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of Religion, and commanded him, positively, “ never “ to be persuaded or threatened out of the Religion of the Church, in which he hoped he would “ be well Instructed, and for the Purity and Integrity whereof he bid him remember that he had “ his Father’s Testimony, and Authority;” his Majesty told him, “ that his Infancy, and the tenderness “ of his years, might persuade some Men to hope “ and believe, that he might be made an Instrument, “ and Property, to advance their wicked designs; “ and if they should take away his Life, they might, “ possibly, the better to attain their own ends make “ him King; that under him, whilst his Age would

“ not permit him to Judge, and Act for himself,
 “ they might remove many obstructions which lay
 “ in their way; and form and unite their Councils;
 “ and then they would destroy Him too. But he
 “ commanded him, upon his Blessing, never to
 “ forget what he said to him upon this occasion, nor
 “ to accept, or suffer himself to be made King, whilst
 “ either of his elder Brothers lived, in what part of
 “ the World soever they should be: that he should
 “ remember that the Prince his Brother was to suc-
 “ ceed him by the Laws of God and Man; and, if
 “ he should miscarry, that the Duke of *York* was to
 “ succeed in the same Right; and therefore that he
 “ should be sure never to be made use of to interrupt,
 “ or disturb either of their Rights; which would in
 “ the end turn to his own destruction.” And this
 discourse the King reiterated to him, as often as he
 had liberty to see him, with all the earnestness, and
 passion he could express; which was so fixed in his
 Memory that he never forgot it. And many years
 after, when he was sent out of *England*, he made
 the full relation of all the particulars to Me, with
 that commotion of Spirit, that it appeared to be
 deeply rooted in him; and made use of one part of
 it very seasonably afterwards, where there was more
 than an ordinary attempt made to have perverted
 him in his Religion, and to persuade him to be-
 come Roman-Catholic for the advancement of his
 Fortune.

In this manner, and with these kind of reflections,
 the King made use of the Liberty he enjoyed; and
 considered as well, what remedies to apply to the

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X. worst that could fall out, as to Carefs the Officers of the Army in order to the improvement of his Condition; of which he was not yet in despair; the Chief-Officers, and all the Heads of that Party, looking upon it as their wisest Policy to cherish the King's hopes by the Liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing Courtesy towards all who had been of his Party; whose expectation, and good word, and testimony, they found did them much good both in the City and the Country.

At this time the Lord *Capel*, whom We left in *Jersey*, hearing of the difference between the Parliament and the Army, left his two Friends there; and made a Journey to *Paris* to the Prince, that he might receive his Highness' approbation of his going for *England*; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the King his Father's Service: and then that Lord Transported himself into *Zealand*, his Friends having advised him to be in those parts before they endeavoured to procure a Pass for him; which they easily did, as soon as he came thither; and so he had liberty to remain at his own House in the Country, where he was exceedingly beloved, and hated no where. And in this general and illimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at *Hampton-Court*; and gave him a particular Account of all that passed at *Jersey*, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reasons which induced those of the Council to remain still there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majesty had never before been thoroughly informed,

The Lord
Capel waits
on the King
at Hampton
Court from
Jersey.

and which put it out of any Body's power to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer any ill Offices: and from thence the King writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind Letter to the Chancellor at *Jersey*; full of hope, "that he should conclude such a Treaty with the Army and Parliament that he should shortly draw Him, and some other of his Friends, to him." He thanked him "for undertaking the work he was upon; and told him, he should expect speedily to receive some contribution from him towards it;" and, within a very short time afterwards, he sent to him his own Memorials (or those which by his Command had been kept, and were perused, and corrected by himself) of all that had passed from the time he had left his Majesty at *Oxford*, when he waited upon the Prince into the West, to the very day that the King left *Oxford* to go to the *Scots*; out of which Memorials, as hath been said before, the most important passages in the Years 1644, and 1645, are faithfully collected. To the Lord *Capel*, his Majesty imparted all his Hopes and all his Fears; and what great Overtures the *Scots* had again made to him; and "that he did really believe that it could not be long before there would be a War between the two Nations; in which the *Scots* promised themselves an universal concurrence from all the Presbyterians in *England*; and that, in such a conjuncture, he wished that his own Party would put themselves in Arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by the success of the other:" and therefore desired *Capel* "to watch such a conjuncture, and draw his

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The Substance of the King's Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

BOOK X. "Friends together;" which he promised to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loss of his own Life. Then the King enjoined him "to write to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that "whenever the Queen, or Prince, should require "him to come to them he should not fail to yield "Obedience to their Command," and himself writ to the Queen, "that whenever the Season should "be ripe for the Prince to engage himself in any "action, she should not fail to send for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to wait upon him in it." And many things were then adjusted, upon the foresight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

The Marquis of *Ormond* had, by special Command and Order from the King whilst he was with the *Scots* at *New-Castle*, delivered up the City of *Dublin* to the Parliament, after the *Irish* had so infamously broken the Peace they had made with the King, and brought their whole Army before *Dublin* to Besiege it; by which he was reduced to those straits that he had no other election than to deliver it to the *Irish*, or to the Parliament; of which his Majesty being informed, determined, he should give it to the Parliament; which he did, with full Conditions for all those who had served his Majesty; and so Transported himself into *England*, and, from *London*, presented himself to the King at *Hampton-Court*; who received him with extraordinary Grace, as a Person who had served him with great Zeal and Fidelity, and with the most universal Testimony of all good Men that any Man could receive. He used less Application to the

The Marquis of Ormond likewise waits on the King at Hampton-Court.

Parliament and Army than other Men, relying upon the Articles the Parliament had signed to him; by which he had liberty to stay so many Months in *England*, and at the end thereof to Transport himself into the parts beyond the Seas, if in the mean time he made no composition with the Parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous Eyes upon him, he repaired frequently to present his Duty to the King; who was exceedingly pleased to confer with him, and to find that he was resolved to undertake any Enterprize that might Advance his Service; which the King himself and most other Men who wished well to it, did at that time believe to be in no desperate Condition. And no Men were fuller of professions of Duty, and a Resolution to run all hazards, than the *Scottish* Commissioners; who, from the time they had delivered up the King, resided at *London* with their usual Confidence, and loudly complained of the presumption of the Army in seizing upon the Person of the King; insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the Interest of the Crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole Nation would be united, to a Man, in any Enterprize for his Service. And now, from the time his Majesty came to *Hampton-Court*, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to *Edinburgh*; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their Persons were known to be most odious to all the great Officers in the Army, and to those who now governed in the

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And Scottish
Commis-
sioners.

B O O K Parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement
x. was laid, which was endeavoured to be performed the next year ensuing, and which the *Scots* themselves then communicated to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Capel*, and other trusty Persons; as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his Majesty's Rights and Interest.

The Army
 begins to be
 less regardful
 of the King.

When the Army had thus subdued all opposition, and the Parliament and They seemed all of a piece, and the refractory humors of the City seemed to be suppressed, and totally tamed, the Army seemed less regardful of the King than they had been; the Chief Officers came rarely to *Hampton-Court*, nor had they the same countenances towards *Ashburnham*, and *Berkley*, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, asked capitious Questions, and gave Answers themselves of no signification. The Agitators, and Council of Officers, sent some Propositions to the King, as ruinous to the Church and destructive to the Regal Power, as had been yet made by the Parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonorable; and said, "if his Majesty would consent thereunto, they
 " would apply themselves to the Parliament, and do
 " the best they could to persuade them to be of the
 " same opinion." But his Majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the Officers, for having deluded him, and having prevailed in all their own designs, by making the World believe that they intended his Majesty's Restoration and Settlement, upon better Conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit.

By

By this manner of resentment, the Army took itself to be disobliged, and used another Language in their discourse of the King than they had, for some Months, done; and such Officers who had formerly served the King, and had been civilly treated and sheltered in the Quarters of the Army, were now driven from thence. They who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their Acquaintance; and the Sequestrations of all the Estates of the Cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigor as ever had been before practised, and the declared Delinquents racked to as high compositions; which if they refused to make, their whole Estates were taken from them, and their Persons exposed to affronts, and insecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Presbyterian humor in the Parliament against the judgment of the Army: and it is very true, that though the Parliament was so far subdued, that it no more found fault with what the Army did, nor complained that it meddled in determining what Settlement should be made in the Government, yet, in all their own Acts and Proceedings, they prosecuted a Presbyterian Settlement as earnestly as they could. The Covenant was pressed in all places, and the Anabaptists and other Sects, which begun to abound, were punished, restrained, and discountenanced; which the Army liked not, as a violation of the Liberty of tender Consciences; which, they pretended, was as much the Original of the Quarrel, as any other Grievance whatsoever.

In this year, 1647, they had begun a Visitation of the University of Oxford; which they finished not

The University of Oxford visited by the Parliament.

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till the next year; in which the Earl of *Pembroke* had been contented to be employed as Chancellor of the University, who had taken an Oath to defend the Rights and Privileges of the University; notwithstanding which, out of the extreme weakness of his Understanding, and the miserable compliance of his Nature, he suffered himself to be made a Property in joining with *Brent*, *Pryn*, and some Committee-Men, and Presbyterian Ministers, as Commissioners for the Parliament to reform the Discipline, and erroneous Doctrine of that Famous University, by the Rule of the Covenant; which was the Standard of all Men's Learning, and ability to govern; all Persons of what Quality soever being required to subscribe that Test; which the whole Body of the University was so far from submitting to, that they met in their Convocation, and, to their eternal Renown (being at the same time under a strict and strong Garrison, put over them by the Parliament; the King in Prison; and all their hopes desperate) passed a public Act, and Declaration against the Covenant, with such invincible Arguments of the Illegality, Wickedness, and Perjury contained in it, that no Man of the contrary Opinion, nor the Assembly of the Divines (which then sat at *Westminster*, forming a new Catechism, and Scheme of Religion) ever ventured to make any Answer to it; nor is it indeed to be answered, but must remain to the World's end, as a Monument of the Learning, Courage, and Loyalty, of that excellent place, against the highest Malice and Tyranny that was ever exercised in, or over any Nation, and which those Famous Commis-

The Oxford.
Reasons a-
gainst the
Covenant
passed in
Convocation
at this time.

sioners only answered by Expelling all those who refused to submit to their Jurisdiction, or to take the Covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole University; scarce one Governor and Master of College or Hall, and an incredible small Number of the Fellows, or Scholars, submitting to either; whereupon that desolation being made, they placed in their rooms, the most notorious Factious Presbyterians, in the Government of the several Colleges or Halls; and such other of the same Leven in the Fellowships, and Scholars places, of those whom they had Expelled, without any regard to the Statutes of the several Founders, and the Incapacities of the Persons that were put in. The Omnipotence of an Ordinance of Parliament, confirmed all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending against it.

It might reasonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation, would even extirpate all that Learning, Religion, and Loyalty, which had so eminently flourished there; and that the succeeding ill Husbandry, and unskilful Cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in Ignorance, Prophanation, Atheism, and Rebellion; but, by God's wonderful blessing, the goodness and richness of that Soil could not be made barren by all that stupidity and negligence. It choked the Weeds, and would not suffer the poisonous Seeds, which were sown with industry enough, to spring up; but after several Tyrannical Governments, mutually succeeding each other, and with the same malice and perverseness endeavouring to, extinguish all good Literature and Allegiance, it yielded a Harvest of extraordinary good

BOOK and found knowledge in all parts of Learning; and
 x. many who were wickedly introduced, applied themselves to the Study of good Learning, and the practice of Virtue; and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had never been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring King *Charles* the second back to his Throne, he found that University (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewise rejected the ill infusions which had been industriously poured into it) abounding in excellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, little inferior to what it was before its desolation; which was a lively instance of God's mercy, and purpose, for ever so to provide for his Church, that the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against it; which were never opened wider, nor with more Malice, than in that time.

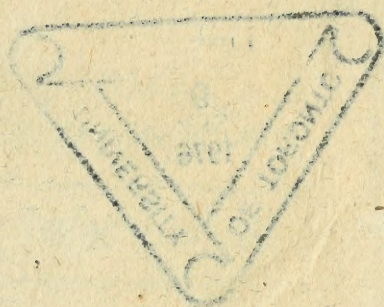
These violent Proceedings in all places, blasted all the King's hopes, and put an end to all the rest and quiet he had for some time enjoyed; nor could he devise any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the Army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither else to resort for help. The Officers of those Guards which were assigned to attend his Person, and who had behaved themselves with good Manners, and Duty towards him, and very civilly towards those of his Party who had used to wait upon his Majesty, begun now to murmur at so great resort to him, and to use many, who came, rudely; and not to suffer them to go into the Room where the King was; or, which was worse, put them out when they were there; and when his Majesty seemed to take notice and be troubled at it, they
 appeared

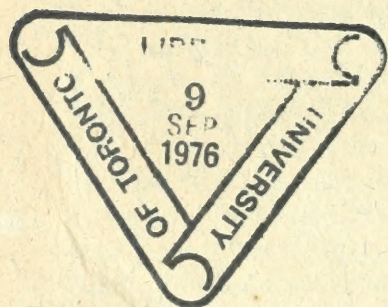
appeared not to be concerned, nor answered him with that Duty they had used to do. They affronted the *Scottish* Commissioners very notably, and would not suffer them to speak with the King; which caused an expostulation from the Parliament; which removed the obstruction for the future, but procured no satisfaction for the injury they had received, nor made the same Officers more civil towards their Persons. *Ashburnham*, and *Berkeley*, received many Advertisements from some Officers with whom they had most conversed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been restored by the Army for the preferments which they expected might fall to their share, "that *Cromwell*, and *Ireton* resolved never " to trust the King, or to do any thing towards his " Restoration;" and they two steered the whole Body; and therefore it was advised, " that some way " might be found to remove his Majesty out of their " hands." Major *Huntington*, one of the best Officers they had, and Major to *Cromwell's* own Regiment of Horse, upon whom he relied in any Enterprize of importance more than upon any Man, had been employed by him to the King, to say those things from him which had given the King the most confidence, and was much more than he had ever said to *Ashburnham*, and the Major did really believe that he had more than he said, and the King had a good opinion of the integrity of the Major, upon the Testimony he had received from some he knew had no reason to deceive his Majesty; and the Man merited the Illusion they gave him. He, when he observed *Cromwell* to grow colder in his Expressions for the

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X. King than he had formerly been, expostulated with him in very sharp terms, for “abusing him, and “making him the Instrument to cozen the King;” and, though the other endeavoured to persuade him that all should be well, he informed his Majesty of all he had observed; and told him, “that *Cromwell* “was a Villain, and would destroy him if he were not “prevented;” and, in a short time after, he gave up his Commission, and would serve no longer in the Army. *Cromwell* himself expostulated with Mr. *Ashburnham*, and complained “that the King could not “be trusted; and that he had no affection or confidence in the Army, but was jealous of them, and “of all the Officers: that he had Intrigues in the “Parliament, and Treaties with the Presbyterians “of the City, to raise new troubles; that he had a “Treaty concluded with the *Scottish* Commissioners “to engage the Nation again in blood; and therefore he would not be answerable if any thing fell “out amiss, and contrary to expectation;” and that was the reason, besides the old Animosity, that had drawn on the Affront, which the Commissioners had complained of. What that Treaty was, and what it produced, will be mentioned in a more proper place.

END OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME.





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